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PEARLS from the President, dated March 4:

I must utter my belief in the Divine inspiration of the founding fathers.

Since freedom impelled and independence inspired and nationality exalted, a world super-government is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness, it is sanctity.

Perhaps we shall never know the old levels of wage again, because war inevitably readjusts compensations and the necessaries of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability.

No one may justly deny the equality of opportunity which made us what we are. We have mistaken unpreparedness to embrace it to be a challenge of the reality, and due concern for making all citizens fit for participation will give added strength of citizenship and magnify our achievement.

There is a luring fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade, but preserved American standards require our higher production costs to be reflected in our tariffs on imports.

Believing in our higher standards, reared through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite mankind to the same heights.

Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the golden rule, and crown it with the autocracy of service.

Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration—all these must follow. *I would like to have them.*

When revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order and renew our consecration. . . . Our revisions, reformations, and evolutions reflect a deliberate judgment.

"FORWARD, march—straight to the rear!" This is the inaugural command of our new Commander-in-Chief, President Harding. We are not even to be allowed to stand still, but are to advance backwards just as rapidly as possible—to normalcy by way of stability. Normalcy, of course, means the good old world of 1890 or 1900. Quite naturally, the Republican Senators thrilled over this inaugural. Senator Watson of Indiana finds it "magnificent"; Senator Lodge, "admirable"; Senator New, "wonderful"; Senator Kellogg, "remarkable"; Senator Nelson, "fine"; Senator Cummins, "admirable and sound"; Senator Phipps, "clever and interesting"; Senator Jones, "clear and splendid"; Senator Ashurst, "manly and eloquent"; Senator Brandegee, "admirable in every way"; while a Democrat, Pomerene of Ohio, declared it to be "splendid," and affirms that he himself is thrilled "by the fine patriotic spirit that it breathes." Our metropolitan press, too, long accustomed to meaningless words, treats the inaugural with greatest respect—even the *World* doubting politely—each one interpreting Mr. Harding's phrases about world affairs to its own tastes and desires. At the risk of our lives we set down our pious wish that no one will laugh, for if any man should begin to laugh aloud the country would rock.

EARNESTLY desirous as we are to be very kind to Mr. Harding, we are none the less regretfully compelled to charge him with borrowing thought at the outset of his career. It is on behalf of Mr. Hosea Biglow. He also declared that:

> We've gut all the ellerments, this very hour,
> Thet make up a fus'-class, self-governin' power:
> We've a war, an' a debt, an' a flag; an' ef this
> Ain't to be inderpendunt, why, wut on airth is?
> An' nothin' now henders our takin' our station
> Ez the freest, enlightenedest, civerlized nation,
> * * * * * * * * * *
> I say nothin' henders our takin' our place
> Ez the very fus'-best o' the whole human race,
> A spittin' tobacker ez proud ez you please
> On Victory's bes' carpets, or loafin' at ease. . . .

Mr. Harding says:

"There comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative Government is the highest expression and the surest guaranty of both [liberty and civilization]."

"Amid it all we have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy, where our freedom never has made offensive warfare, never has sought territorial aggrandizement through force, never has turned to the arbitrament of arms until reason had been exhausted."

"When the Governments of earth shall have established a *freedom like our own* and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written." Hosea Biglow also remarked:

> No, never say nothin' without you're compelled tu,
> An' then don't say nothin' that you can be held tu,
> Nor don't leave no friction-ideas layin' loose
> For the ign'ant to put to incend'ary use.

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LET us be thankful that in the hurried, harried moments when one administration went out and one came in:

The Senate refused to pass the naval appropriation bill and the soldier bonus measure;

Mr. Wilson killed the immigration bill and the emergency tariff;

The bill appropriating $18,600,000 for hospital care for former service men was passed;

Congress failed to provide for a continuation of the Council of National Defense;

The new President did not startle us by saying anything at his inaugural address that we had not expected;

Open diplomacy began—at least in respect to the White House gates;

The newspapers were thoughtful enough to tell us how the Coolidge boys made themselves at home in Washington;

And—whether Mr. Harding succeeds or fails as a pinch hitter—Babe Ruth went into training at Shreveport, Louisiana.

SENATOR KING and Senator Borah are entitled to the greatest credit for the skill with which they handled the naval appropriation bill in the Senate and their success in putting it over until the next session of Congress. But for these men this inexcusable bill, with a hundred million dollars added after it came from the House, would have gone through. Now there is at least a breathing spell, and in that time public opinion ought to arouse itself if the bill is to be finally defeated. The country should deluge Mr. Harding and Secretary Denby with protests against the naval building program, if only on the ground that it will inevitably lead to war with England if it is persisted in—as *The Nation* thinks it would. At the same time we hope that the mail of Senators Borah and King and of the new Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, will be full of letters of thanks—it is gratifying to find that Mr. Weeks, a graduate of Annapolis, is reported as opposing Secretary Denby at the first exchange of the Harding Cabinet upon this naval program. This is the time and the chance to keep down our enormous navy waste, and we hope that every reader of *The Nation* who believes that disarmament is the key to peace will take up his pen at once and make his views felt in Washington.

WHEN this country a few months ago learned of the murder of Drs. Friedlander and Cantor by bandits in the Ukraine, the Soviet Government received its inevitable share of denunciation. Yet last week, Dr. Phineas Kotkov, a native of Russia, professor of theology in the New York Jewish Theological Seminary, was attacked by bandits while walking to his home in Brooklyn, receiving injuries from which he died, two days later. He was killed in the heart of this great nation's metropolis. Now, for years our jingoes have sought to make the death or injury of any American, even in remote and notoriously bandit-infested parts of Mexico, a pretext for intervention. Yet not long ago, two innocent Mexicans were killed by a Colorado mob, and Mexico did nothing about it. Recently a Mexican official stationed in New York took the humorous precaution during the height of the epidemic of hold-ups to telegraph his Government to provide additional protection for him. It is obvious that the lives of our own citizens as well as of foreigners are never wholly safe, and not merely in the lawless sections of the rural South and Southwest, but in our largest cities. The war, which loosed men's passions, intensified economic distress and cheapened the value of human life, has of course contributed to the general insecurity, and international claims of redress must be judged in the light of the laws and temper of the country where the injury is committed, as well as of the dictates of common sense.

PRESIDENT OBREGON is a man of great faith but little wisdom if he actually believes that Mexico may expect sympathetic treatment at the hands of the new Administration because President Harding has "expressed best wishes for all nations and the desire for friendly relations with the entire world." While Mr. Harding talks generalities, Albert B. Fall, the new Secretary of the Interior, talks specifically, and states in a letter to the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico the exact terms on which the American Government must insist as a prerequisite to recognition by the United States. "So long as I have anything to do with the Mexican question," says Mr. Fall, "no Government in Mexico will be recognized, with my consent, which Government does not first enter into a written agreement practically along the line suggested." The line suggested includes the appointment of a commission to ascertain damages done to American persons and property in Mexico and to Mexicans and their property in the United States; the settlement of boundary disputes; a demand that various sections of the Mexican Constitution, particularly Article 27, should not apply to Americans; the future protection of Americans and American property in Mexico; and certain financial arrangements. Secretary Fall states that his information, obtained verbally from the Department of State, was "to the effect that the American State Department has practically adopted the majority of these suggestions as a basis for action between the two countries preliminary to the recognition by this Government of the Mexican Government."

A STRONG smell of oil pervades the operatic warfare recently waged on the frontier of Costa Rica and Panama. In fact that tiny stretch of isthmus holds most of the elements both of Richard Harding Davis romance and of international tragedy. There was a little revolution in Costa Rica in 1917, with which oil had something to do, and our Government refused to recognize the new Government. But British oil interests had no such qualms, and secured handsome concessions from the unrecognized Tinoco Government. Last August there was another revolution, and the new Government, which we promptly recognized, canceled the British concessions as invalid. Meanwhile American oil interests were very busy prospecting along the Panama border. Now, this border had been a bit ill-defined, even before President Roosevelt arranged the revolution which made Panama independent of Colombia. President Loubet of France arbitrated regarding the frontier in 1900, and allotted the Coto district on the Pacific coast to Costa Rica. Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court in a further arbitration fourteen years later decided in Costa Rica's favor regarding a strip on the Atlantic Coast. Neither of these decisions had been executed. Costa Rica's recent invasions of Panama were in execution of them.

THE Costa Ricans carelessly blew up a bridge belonging to the United Fruit Company, an American corporation. This was a serious error. Apart from the fact that the United Fruit Company controls more than 60 per cent of the active capital in Costa Rica, including that invested in rail-

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roads, and that one of its officials is said to hold personally more than one-half of the bonded debt of the republic, the act meant measures "to protect American interests." That phrase is a deadly one in Central America; it has been used to much effect in Panama, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua. It inevitably causes cynical suspicion of the best-intended efforts at peace-making, and Mr. Hughes' effort seems to be honorably to apply the Loubet and White decisions. But the smell of oil persists; the British Government is pressing the interests of its concession-holders whose concessions were canceled; and the Costa Rican Congress is studying all the oil concessions, and fondly meditating upon a law passed in 1913 which declared all petroleum deposits in the republic to be the property of the state, subject only to period leases—a law which is reminiscent of that Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution which seems to be the stumbling-block to recognition of Mexico. If only these Central American republics had no oil deposits, they might find independence easier!

EACH week conditions in Ireland appear to have touched the nadir of horror, yet each week that wretched country sinks deeper into savagery and despair. Even the code of "civilized" warfare is increasingly abandoned. Now the Mayor and the ex-Mayor of Limerick, aroused from their beds in the dead of night, are murdered in the arms of their wives, and the community, terrified by crown forces, dares not even summon a physician to tend the dying. This latest piece of "Schrecklichkeit" is alleged to be in retaliation for the killing of Brigadier-General Cumming, though the ambush in which he and several other British soldiers were shot occurred in West Cork. Had such things happened in Belgium in 1914, the world would have gasped in horror, and England would have been the first to cry "shame." Yet when in 1921, day by day the slaughter proceeds more savagely, England remains stolid and unmoved—unless in the loss by the Government of three out of five recent by-elections one may find some scant indication of an awakening public conscience. Those who have believed in liberal England cling to each such faint straw of hope, for in the end liberal England must turn the tide. Meanwhile with no honorable effort at settlement being made, Great Britain is rapidly consuming her dwindling moral capital.

NO more vicious and dangerous decision has ever been handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States than that in the case of the Milwaukee *Leader*, announced last week. Its effect on the future of the *Leader* will be disastrous—but that is the least of the matter. This decision establishes an absolute, permanent censorship in the United States. On the basis of any printed matter which the Postmaster-General chooses to consider illegal, that official can take away the second-class mailing privileges of a publication, not temporarily but permanently or until the Postmaster-General concludes that the publication has, in the words of Justice Clark's decision, "mended its ways." Such a publication could have recourse to the courts; but even a favorable decision could immediately be nullified, as it has been in the case of the New York *Call*, by the Post Office Department appealing from the decision and securing a stay. Before a final decision could be reached in the Supreme Court, a process usually taking two or three years, any ordinary publication would be ruined. This is not a war-time decision; it grants permanent despotic power to one single government official. The dissenting opinions of Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis had their usual effect of throwing into sharper relief the mean vision and the reactionary bias of the rest of the court; and the words of Justice Brandeis, in summing up, should be written down and remembered: "If, under the Constitution, administrative officers may, as a mere incident of the peace-time administration of their departments, be vested with the power to issue such orders as this, there is little of substance in our bill of rights, and in every extension of governmental functions lurks a new danger to civil liberty."

THAT Champ Clark possessed fine personal qualities is perfectly obvious from the many sincere tributes of respect and grief which have appeared since his death. He was a rugged old Roman, a high type of the politician of the old school, upright and outspoken, who rejoiced in most unusual popularity among those who worked with him during his long Congressional service. It was this popularity which stood him in such good stead at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore in 1912, where he obtained a majority vote and came so near a two-thirds vote and the nomination that it is said to have hinged upon one man who was actually on the way to the platform to come out for Mr. Clark when he was stopped. Mr. Bryan could also have nominated Mr. Clark. At that time there was widespread satisfaction that the prize fell to Mr. Wilson, so great were the hopes he had aroused by his "new freedom" and his demand for a peaceful revolution in our political life. Mr. Clark's election, it was felt, would mean only the continuance of machine politics and a rather provincial viewpoint in the White House. But now that eight fateful years have passed it may well be a cause for speculation whether the country would not have been better off had Champ Clark become President. He certainly would never have put us into the war, and, unless we are misinformed, was never very happy over our going in, or over many of the incidents of our being in.

THE interdependence of the drama and the national philosophy of life is both pertinently and amusingly illustrated by the dilemma of the contemporary Russian stage. Shall dramas embodying bourgeois ideals of property or morality be played or not? Lunacharski, the commissar of public enlightenment, has taken the affirmative view; Bucharin, leader of the extreme Left, the negative one. A public controversy ensues; Ostrovski, founder of the national theater of Russia, is played by the innumerable workingmen's theaters. Yet he is fiercely attacked by the intellectuals as hopelessly "petit bourgeois." The National Theater of Moscow limits its repertory to "revolutionary dramas," such as Büchner's "Danton's Tod"; Stanislavski escapes from controversy into romance; the little stages of the capital play exclusively Gorki, Tolstoy, Andreev, the pieces of a certain Sofia Belaja, and occasionally Hauptmann and Hejermanns. The problem is a very real one. Dramatic crises must have psychical actuality. Many deal with the family. But the traditional laws that govern the family are but crystallizations of the canonical law which, in its turn, is a crystallization of purely metaphysical concepts. But since the Communist state repudiates these concepts *ab initio*, a large portion of dramatic literature loses its significance. The question is an intricate one and calculated to stimulate reflection in both the social reformer and the lover of art.

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The Allies' "Reckless Adventure"

THE ultimate consequences to Germany and Europe of this reckless adventure can only be guessed at, but the march of Foch may too easily prove before many months be passed to be a march to perdition. If Europe falls into ruin by the desperate action of the Allied Governments, it will be on them and not on Germany that the curse of posterity will fall.

These are not the words of a Berlin newspaper but the sober opinion of the London *Daily News*, while the *Manchester Guardian* declares that "on the day that Allied troops proceed to occupy fresh territory outside that assigned by the treaty, they will have committed a lawless act which only the weakness of their adversary could prevent from being treated as an act of war." In our judgment the Allied decision to march into Germany is a defeat for democracy, for it means that the Prime Ministers of France and England, confronted with the bitter and irrational passions which their own political speeches had aroused, were unable to face economic facts and seek an economic solution of an economic problem, and instead sought escape in a dramatic gesture. That is all the "sanctions" are. They will not add a penny to the reparations fund; they set back instead of advancing the quest after the real amount that the Germans should pay; and they delay the reconstruction of devastated France because they only add to the military expenses which Germany must meet before the peasants of Northern France can have the money they so sorely need. Furthermore, this action again makes a scrap of paper of the Treaty of Versailles. As the *Manchester Guardian* says, "It cannot be too often repeated that the peace treaty gives no authority whatever for the course now being pursued." The Germans were right in protesting that the action was contrary to the treaty. And if the Allies continue to breach it, to flaunt it, and to show that they do not intend to be bound by its provisions, how can they expect the Germans to respect it and believe that it is inviolable and sacred?

Far more than that this action means, we believe, the beginning of the downfall of France, both morally and economically. The British newspapers admit that it spells the triumph of the French over Lloyd George. It was only a few weeks ago that he was declaring that Great Britain would never, never consent to further occupation of German territory; in fact, we were informed that Millerand and Lloyd George were near a break on this very issue. Whether this was mere stage play, we cannot tell. Nor do we know to what influences and for what a price Lloyd George has surrendered, but the surrender is there, and the imperialists and militarists of France have once more won a great victory, an empty and an idle victory, because, as we have said, it will help France neither economically nor financially. On the contrary, it will increase the wave of hate against France in the Central Powers—a hate which is already so ominous for the future of Europe. It will enormously strengthen the hands of those in Germany who would make an alliance with Russia, and the Allies will be lucky indeed if they do not meet with an obstinate determination on the part of Germany to refuse to do any business with them whatever under a treaty which the Allies themselves no longer respect, and which Briand truthfully declared to be dead. It cannot but further alienate from France neutral and American opinion.

No such great gulf yawned between the German and the Allied proposals as the newspapers and the statesmen misled us into supposing. The statesmen on both sides drew up their proposals rather to placate angry home opinion than, like business men, to search out some satisfactory working compromise. The Allied statesmen made their reparations total sound as large as possible; the Germans made theirs sound as low as possible. Otherwise Briand and Simons might have lost office; and such considerations weigh more heavily with statesmen than the needs of peoples. The German total was reckoned in present-day capital, without interest; obviously the total payment, with accumulated interest, if stretched out over thirty years, would be far greater. The Allied proposal was figured in year-by-year payments for forty-two years; obviously the present value of the later payments is really only a fraction of the sums which Briand dangled before his French constituents.

Former President Poincaré, Premier Briand's bitterest jingo opponent, calculated that the Allied proposals, discounted at 8 per cent, had a present capital value of only 58 billion gold marks, or at 9 per cent, which he said was a current rate for European loans in the American market, of only 52 billion gold marks. This neglects the variable factor of the proposed tax on German exports, a proposal which the conservative London *Economist* said was so crude and questionable a demand that it "almost looked as if it had been intended to make the payment required impossible." Now the German proposals, as originally made, came very close to this. They assumed a total payment of a present capital value of 50 billion gold marks. From this they claimed that the reparations payments already made should be deducted. The treaty provides that these payments shall be deducted from the total reparations bill; the Allied proposals made no mention of them. The Germans claim that these payments involve a total value of 21 billion gold marks, including notably merchant marine deliveries to a value of 7 billion, imperial and state property of 4½ billion, railway rolling stock of 1½ billion, the Saar mines at 1 billion, etc. The Reparation Commission provisionally estimates the value of these deliveries at less than one-half the German total, but obviously their evaluation is a matter for careful computation in conference, not for blustering ultimatum. The later German proposals accepted, subject to certain conditions, the Allied proposals for the first five years, and suggested a reassessment of possibilities then. Negotiation could have reached a satisfactory compromise; instead the statesmen delivered campaign orations, spouted ostensibly at their adversaries in conference but intended in fact for the mob outside, and made agreement impossible.

It is indeed a policy ruinous for Europe, the more so in that it is a confession of incompetence which bodes ill for the future conferences which must inevitably come. The economic issues will rise again to plague the Premiers; these have by a dramatic pose satisfied for the moment the hungry politicians, but they must in the end face the hungry refugees struggling bravely to rebuild their homes. The problem which the Allies must ultimately meet is not one of cowing disarmed Germany by a show of glittering and expensive force; it is the problem of agreeing with Germany upon some possible plan of reparations. They are today farther than ever from solving it.

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Maintaining Law and Order in Albany

ALBANY, capital of the Empire State, has been having a street-car strike. As is usual in such cases, the street car company called in so-called detective agencies to supply strike-breakers and "guards," and as is usual in street-car strikes, there has been much violence. The Albany strike is of particular interest because of the public revelation of the violent role played by the "guards" hired to maintain law and order.

The Albany strike began on January 29. The company had announced that beginning that day wages would be reduced from 60 to 45 cents per hour. The men said that an agreement between the company and themselves required that "if any controversy shall arise between the company and the employees as to the rate of wages to be paid after the expiration of the agreement, the same shall be referred for determination to arbitrators, . . ." It was another of the many cases in which corporations, when times are hard and labor apparently abundant, refuse to maintain their agreements to arbitrate wage differences.

Ten days after the strike began, the company attempted to resume service with the aid of professional strike-breakers accompanied by "guards" in charge of a gentleman who was paid $30 a day for his services. The attempt was unsuccessful. The company complained of lack of police protection; State police were called in. A prosperous jitney business sprang up, and the sympathy of the people seemed rather with the strikers. Occasional cars made lone trips, but service in any real sense of the word was not resumed, and almost nobody patronized the cars that did run. There was sporadic stoning of cars. In such cases the mounted State troopers rode into the crowds.

Two detective companies (at least) had been called to the company's aid. Bergoff Brothers and Waddell, famous labor fighters, were on hand; so were guards from the Cosgrove Detective Agency, of Newark, New Jersey. This agency has a half-page advertisement in the New York City Classified Telephone Directory which reads in part:

> Two decades of successful and ethical service to the principal business interests of America. Vouchers such as the business man would demand. Industrial service of the better sort based on facts only. Labor troubles effectively controlled by replacement of workers trained to fill your needs and turn out your production. . . . The name Cosgrove is the hallmark of dependability, efficiency, integrity, and responsibility in all that pertains to legitimate detective service.

Cosgrove's guards did not figure largely in the newspapers in the early days of the strike. But on February 25 a reporter for the *Knickerbocker Press*, who was engaged in pinning the arms of a strike sympathizer who seemed about to throw a stone, found himself caught in an indiscriminate attack on strike sympathizers led by John J. Cosgrove, Jr., nephew of the head of the firm. The reporter was clubbed and taken to the police station, where he turned the tables by accusing his captor, and naturally his story had full publicity. Three days later crowds which had gathered to watch a strike-breaker car in Watervliet, a suburb of Albany, were cleared off the streets by State troopers, and many took refuge in stores lining the street. Behind the troopers came an automobile in which sat young Cosgrove and a detail of Cosgrove "guards," hired to help maintain order. Let the *Knickerbocker Press* continue:

> They leaped out, armed with clubs, and entered the cigar store. The two troopers also are said to have entered, and were in control of the situation. The Cosgrove "guards," however, on entering the store, swung their clubs right and left, hitting heads wherever they had an opportunity, and felling several persons to the floor. The four men who were seriously injured were John Blaney, John McCloy, Thomas Stanley, and Leo Carr. McCloy and Carr had their heads split, and rushed from the store with blood streaming down their faces. Later Dr. H. T. Wygant took six stitches in the wound of McCloy. When the Cosgrove "guards" came out of the store they were asked by Watervliet police who were in the street what authority they had to club persons or attempt to arrest anyone. They answered they had no authority and were promptly placed under arrest. . . . In a search of the "guards'" automobile the police found a blackjack, two revolvers, one an automatic, and three night sticks. Cosgrove and McGrath each had a gun in their possession, Watervliet police charged. When questioned regarding the ownership of the car, the men said it belonged to Superintendent Charles A. Coons of the United Traction Company. . . .

"Ethical service to the principal business interests"! "Industrial service of the better sort"!

The sequel was a statement by the Mayor that "unauthorized thugs brought into the city by the traction company are responsible for what happened," a statement by the Commissioner of Public Safety that "lawless persons sent by the traction company to assist the operation of cars in Watervliet will not be countenanced by city officials," and a demand by the assistant superintendent of the State troopers that the traction company withdraw its guards, which it did. The story, naturally, was featured in most of the Albany papers; the New York *Times* had a brief report of it; but the Albany *Evening Journal* appeared after the event with the true but misleading headline "Strike Situation Quiet Today on All Lines in Troy and Albany; Repairs made to wires in Watervliet with troopers on guard; Company planned to resume traffic on Albany-Troy line this afternoon; Weatherwax reiterates statement that company hopes to reduce expenses and thus lower fare." On page 12 of the *Evening Journal*, buried in a long column with no headline to hint its presence, the careful reader might have discovered mention of the Watervliet incident and of the arrest of the six guards, charged with assault and incitement to riot; the front page double-column head said only, "Strike Situation Quiet Today in *Troy and Albany*."

Albany is a small city, and the story of its anti-strike "guards" will be little known outside the twin cities. Nor was much national attention paid to the strange events during the street-car strike in Denver last year, when General Wood took charge of the situation, and, almost as his first act to maintain law and order, ordered the professional strike-breakers and pseudo-guards out of the city. Nor does the violent history of West Virginia and the lawless company guards there excite our Congress or our people. But the Cosgroves, and the Baldwin-Feltses, and the Bergoff-Waddells today constitute a great national industry, an industry which serves its own employers ill, throws blame for violence on innocent workers, and deceives the public. The lawmakers who are composing anti-strike bills would do well to devote a little study to the problem of anti-spy bills. The poison of the spy is infinitely more venomous than the waste of strikes.

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A Call for "the Public"

THE interest of "the Public" is paramount. Newspapers never tire of repeating this in commenting on strikes. The interest and power of the public have been invoked again and again to suppress strikes by applying compulsion to the workers. The lockout of the New York clothing workers is now beginning its fourth month. What does the public know about it? What has the public done as the result of such knowledge? Who is acting for the public now?

In this case the public has not had to wait until months after the trouble was over in order to get an impartial statement of the facts. In the New York clothing industry, as governed until the manufacturers broke off the agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, there was an officer known as the Impartial Chairman, or continuous arbitrator. Jointly paid by manufacturers and union, this officer was in intimate contact with their difficulties; it was his duty to make adjustments, and in doing so he was looked on as being in some sort the representative of the public. The chairman, Dr. William M. Leiserson, lived up to his responsibilities to the public. After the break between union and manufacturers, he put his duties to them in a subordinate category and he made "a report to the public" out of the fullness of his knowledge of the inside history of the conflict. It was a risky step for anyone who might have ambitions toward continuing in demand as an impartial chairman.

His expressed intention to make this report certainly sent up the eyebrows of the union, and the manufacturers' leaders threatened a libel suit. Yet Dr. Leiserson sent his report to the Governor, to other authorities, and to the papers. When the dust settled it was generally observed that the result of the report was a skinned nose for the union, but that the entire cuticle of the New York manufacturers had been deftly removed and was drying on the fence. Dr. Leiserson clearly assigned the blame for the trouble to a clique among the manufacturers. This clique, he said, had been led by a union-smashing lawyer. The report concluded:

> The duty of the public in a case like this seems clear. It should insist upon a thorough airing of the facts, the expulsion from the situation of the agitators—the lawyer and the group who brought on the strike. It should see to it that negotiations are resumed on the basis of the original issue of decreasing labor costs. This can easily be brought about if the authorities and the newspapers, the official and recognized representatives of the public to whom this report is submitted, will bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on both parties to take this action.

Five weeks have passed since the public got the report; it has not been controverted on points of fact, and yet its recommendations have not been acted on. The duty of the public has been made clear, yet the public has been as if paralyzed. Would the duty have been easier if it had not been so clearly to the advantage of the union? Where are all the valiant defenders of the public who spoke up when there was trouble in steel, in coal, in railroads?

The Amalgamated's membership has depended entirely on itself and other unionists for the sinews of war. The membership in one city alone (Chicago) raised in six weeks a quarter of a million dollars for relief in New York. The membership has not asked a cent from the public. Does it show resentment against the public because of inaction in support of a well-established just cause? Apparently not. Unions are used to expecting nothing. The Amalgamated has gone ahead, tracing the New York work sent out to small country towns and organizing the workers found there. Shortly after Dr. Leiserson's report, the Amalgamated's organizers in one such town, Hammonton, N. J., were mobbed by the police and other citizens and thrown out. They were a couple of girls, both just about elbow-high to an average man. They had tried to hold a meeting. Their deportation might have been regarded as "action on the part of the public."

Judging by the record, then, intervention by the public seems to be in inverse ratio to the strength of the union's case. When the public hears nothing but the propaganda of the employer, it cheerfully sanctions the use of injunctions, accompanied by all the police power of the state. When it receives a confused account which does not determine where the blame lies, it intervenes in its own interest on the premise that "both sides are wrong" and both must surrender something—thus encouraging employers to attack unions with no other cause than that the public will sanction slicing off a pound or two of the union's former gains. But when the case is clear, when the information is exact and from an unquestionable source, and when it demonstrates that the employers are in the wrong, the public retires to seclusion, leaving the contestants in the heat and dust of battle. Or do we wrong the public? Is this lay figure which has been paraded before us with such solemnity not the public at all, but simply a painted idol trotted out to impress the populace when the rich men of the tribe grow timorous? Does its divinity lie simply on the lips of the hired sycophants who bow before it?

The public is paramount, though in this instance it is more noticeably absent. Would the Amalgamated be deemed ribald (as well as radical) if it asked, what does the public paramount to?

The Uses of the American Academy

CERTAIN of the members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters have begun to inquire whether that body has not been too content to rest upon its oars, too content to be a club of gentlemen who out of modesty hide behind their own records while the practice of art and literature among the rising generation escapes their aid and runs off into heedless eccentricities. To some of the members at least the recent public meeting in honor of William Dean Howells was a sort of announcement that the Academy exists for the recognition and encouragement of good literature and art, a meeting aimed to call the attention of Americans at large to an institution which of late has—to state it frankly—been overlooked by the American artistic world at large. How, these members are wondering, may the Academy increase its services and its contributions to our various arts? We venture to make a few quite practical and specific suggestions, prefacing them with the remark that the Academy ought to admit women as a matter of course on exactly the same terms as men. That Edith Wharton, for instance, is not a member of the Academy while this or that person of half her gifts and achievements

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is a member, merely deprives the Academy of an honor without, so far as we can see, bringing it any advantage whatever.

The Academy might well make a larger use of the arts of publicity in order that as extensive a part of the population as possible may know about its existence, which in many quarters is not even suspected. Now that the Academy has a sum of money which will before long permit it to erect a building of its own, it has an opportunity to seem more real than it ever has. It needs, however, to do more. Relatively few persons will see the building or understand what it means. The purposes of the Academy would be excellently served if it issued some sort of periodical bulletin, which might be sent at least to all newspapers and public libraries, which would report the literary activities of the members, announce the election of new persons to the Academy—and of course also to the Institute—and announce the prizes for meritorious work which the Academy would do well to offer.

On the whole the Academy can do nothing capable of such valuable service as the offering of judicious prizes judiciously awarded. Most of its members will admit that there will always be dissent from the judgments of the Academy. England has never been able to develop an academy even faintly comparable to that of France, and even in France is there not an Académie Goncourt in protest against official respectability? The American Academy, like other academies, will presumably always wait long before electing even the most gifted man to membership, and will naturally elect only those artists upon whom there can be general agreement. The individual, therefore, will perhaps not often profit greatly by election to the Academy, though the more hospitable Institute may be of use to him. But every year there are books and plays and paintings and musical compositions and criticisms of such things which should be recognized by just some such competent official body. Even if the Academy were not able to offer prizes of much intrinsic value, there would nevertheless be a very decided value in the mere fact of the award, with the resulting attention called to scrupulous work. And not only the artist would benefit. Public awards of this sort would be sure to arouse public discussion. It would mean something for the cause of art every time some merely popular work, already much in the eye of the public, were passed over for the sake of a work of higher, finer merit.

We assume, of course, that the only grounds which the Academy could allow itself to take would be that prizes must be awarded on the basis of essential merit. Let the Academy be open as it will to the vitality in popular work, still it will, we take it, tend always to be conservative. If it allows itself to be influenced by the political or social coloring of new art, it will put its weight too often on the conservative side of controversies and so lose its credit with forward-looking artists. But form, beauty, grace, workmanship—these are what the Academy must consider. And here it must make no compromise. Art in America is daily corrupted by the high prices paid for meretricious work while good work goes begging. The American Academy should not leave to the individual artist the task of standing alone in his ideals; it should range itself once and for all on the side of good art and good scholarship and make its fight there. While there is every possibility that this or that award would be challenged in a dozen quarters, and while good work might now and then be overlooked, it is still worth while to make the attempt.

Medicine Hat

AEOLUS of Aeolia, according to Homer (or whatever man or woman it was who wrote the "Odyssey"), was the father of the winds, stilled or vexed them as his inclination went, and on occasion could do up a bagful for the future use of some seafaring visitor like Ulysses, who indeed handled them very foolishly and came to grief. But what, some hundred per cent Canadian might inquire, has Aeolia on Alberta? In that province sits Medicine Hat, father of the winds of a vaster continent than Homer dreamed of, where the Chinook comes down from the Porcupine Hills like the wolf on the fold, licks up a winter's snow in an hour or so, and starts a row among the weathers that spreads till it fills the entire Dominion and then spills over into the United States, let tariff provisions be what they will. In a day all Montana feels it; then the Bad Lands and Gopher Prairie, Chillicothe and Fond du Lac and Chattanooga, Sandusky, Roanoke, Altoona, Poughkeepsie, on to Satan's Kingdom among the Cornwalls in Connecticut, to wind-battered Nantucket, to Fundy and Passamaquoddy, even, before the row is over. It is all very well to live in Whitehall, Indiana, and brag that you are at the center of the country's population; yet this is as nothing when compared with living at the very source of meteorology, sitting, as it were, on the lid of the storms and seasons.

What, indeed, has Aeolia on Alberta? Nothing in reality but a Homer. The fable-makers have failed us. No one has discovered the cave among the Porcupines, as Master Virgil found one among the Aeolian Islands north of Sicily, where the winds lie idle when they are not working and from which they issue upon the proper permit. No one has imagined an old witch who cooks up zephyrs and schneefressers in some midnight cauldron. No one has told the tale of a Northwestern Pandora peeping into her forbidden strongbox and turning the cyclones loose on the world. Nor has any more autochthonous legend come into being: such as that at Medicine Hat the Shaman of the Winds undoes his medicine bag and dumps out his hoarded treasure; or that there stands the Hat of Hats through which the authorized Manito talks when there is a fresh blizzard on.

Believing as we do that Canada must be left to develop its own domestic traditions as Canada will, we do not advise the Homers of that neighbor, but leave them to their own devices. The weather, however, which Medicine Hat manufactures and thrusts upon the circumjacent territories is international. As such it should come under some sort of international regulation. What right has Canada to unload its abundant, cheap, easily-produced weather upon us? We have our infant weather industries only a few aeons old, and they must be protected. We have skilled weather-makers who must not be thrown out of jobs. Moreover, our own weather is of a standard which we prefer, and know to be superior. To import the product of Medicine Hat is to break down the American standard by irresistible foreign competition. These things must not be. With all the strength of our true blue Americanism we cry out against them. We demand that the Council of the League of Nations, before we enter the League with any reservations whatsoever, place in the hands of a competent committee the question of making Medicine Hat a neutral zone, with the United States recognized as the nation which has a prior interest in its activities.

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The Condition of Soviet Industrialism

By LINCOLN COLCORD

"IS Russia in a state of industrial collapse? Are the Bolsheviki to blame for it?" The American public is still asking these rudimentary questions about the Russian situation. The busy citizen who expects an immediate and decisive answer to them never stops to reflect how impossible it is to get a satisfactory answer fixing the blame for the present economic depression in his own country. Some say the tariff, some say conditions of credit, some say profiteering, some say overproduction, some say the Treaty of Versailles, some say our failure to ratify the treaty; and no one, of course, would be satisfied with a sweeping statement attaching the blame to capitalism per se. Nor is any one simple explanation given for the industrial sickness which is universal throughout Central Europe.

The first question may be answered briefly. Soviet Russia is in a state of industrial collapse. It is not on record that the Bolsheviki have ever attempted to deny it. From Soviet sources can be obtained more drastic and authoritative statements of fact disclosing this condition than any made in counter-revolutionary quarters; one has only to examine the documents in this week's International Relations Section to find evidence of this. It is a curious sidelight on public opinion that the impression has been created that the Soviets do deny it; in consequence of which, the mere statement of the fact itself of industrial collapse derives value as anti-Soviet propaganda. Starting with the full admission of industrial collapse, the whole matter of blame for this condition falls unavoidably in the realm of opinion. A thousand causes contributed to the Russian economic debacle; no single force or event can be instanced to account for it. Every avenue of argument leads to a cul-de-sac of preconception.

There are certain facts, however, bearing directly on the issue, which cannot be ignored. They are matters of familiar knowledge; of knowledge so familiar that their significance is beginning to be lost sight of as factors in the Russian industrial situation. The following recapitulation of these facts is merely an attempt to apply the logic of events to a subject which often seems in danger of escaping both logic and reason.

1. *The Industrial and Economic Collapse of the Old Regime*

This is a phase of the question on which there are scant data, but a volume of evidence. The Revolution itself is the best evidence. Nothing short of the complete economic breakdown of the old regime could have induced such a fundamental social upheaval. It is hard for us even to imagine conditions in Russia at the beginning of 1917. The nation had lost in killed and wounded more than all the other Allies combined. The country was impoverished by the waste and inefficiency of the Czar's war administration. Transportation, commissary, and munitions supply systems had begun to fail. Stores were used up, and nothing had properly been provided against the future. The morale of the army was shattered. The people had lost confidence in the Government.

Then came the first Revolution in March, 1917. The army began to disband and go home, millions of armed soldiers streaming across the face of the country. Under Kerensky, the dwindling authority of government attempted to stem this human tide impelled by economic forces, to drive Russia back into the war. This only increased the confusion. Lawlessness succeeded chaos, terror succeeded sorrow and suffering. The old regime vanished, leaving only the wreckage of its economic engine. The country was undone. It was at this moment that the Soviets came to power. The task of restoring order was colossal; this bore indirectly but powerfully on the industrial problem. In spite of the popular impression abroad, order was restored, though it was a year before the country had settled down under the new regime. Looking solely at the industrial problem, however, it is evident that the Soviets took control at the moment of lowest ebb. Whatever productive organization remained in operation was dedicated to war uses which had vanished with the army.

Over against this must be set the stores of unassembled machinery and unused material which fell to the Soviets as a final legacy of Czarist incapacity. To utilize all this required technical knowledge. Here we touch the chief difficulty which the Soviets faced at the beginning of their regime. Practically all the technical knowledge and ability in Russian industry, the managerial capacity, was counter-revolutionary in its sympathies. It destroyed books and records and machinery, in the best methods of sabotage. It refused to work for the Soviets. Its influence was exerted only to cripple still farther the existing industrial system.

In the province of factory management, another popular error needs to be corrected. It is still believed by the average American citizen that, under the Bolsheviki, factories are managed by "soviets" of the workingmen. As a matter of fact, this fallacious practice was corrected by the Bolshevik leaders as soon as they were able to control the wild social forces loosed by the Revolution. From the first, Lenin has preached individual management in industry and rigid labor discipline. These principles were adopted throughout the Soviet industrial system two years ago, and have been operative ever since. It is amusing to note that the American who protests vigorously against the strength of labor discipline under the Bolsheviki will in the same breath accuse them of practicing "soviet" management in industry; not stopping to put two and two together.

Briefly, then, the Soviets took charge of a broken-down industrial plant; and the economic rehabilitation of the country had to be undertaken without experienced technical direction.

2. *The Problems Raised by Military Intervention*

The Soviets have been forced for the past three years to divert over 75 per cent, and in some periods as much as 90 per cent, of their industrial production to war uses. This, in turn, has thrown an even greater relative burden on the transportation system. New industries had to be fostered for the production exclusively of war materials,

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at the expense of starving more useful branches of the general industrial plant. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Communists had to be taken for the army; and most Communists are industrial workers.

These are not slight facts. Instead of turning the whole industrial plant of Russia to peaceful uses, with all the available labor strength, in an effort to feed and clothe the people, to supply agricultural machinery and civilian transportation, to bridge the gap between city and country, and thus to revive economic stability within the principles of communism, the Soviets have been compelled by military invasion and foreign support of counter-revolution (in both of which America has participated), to throw practically their whole industrial effort in the opposite direction, making soldiers of artisans and mechanics, condemning the cities to want and semi-starvation, failing to produce those goods which alone would constitute a medium of exchange with the peasantry, burdening the railroad system with military activities, and rendering economic stability still more difficult of attainment.

3. *The Effect of the Blockade on Russian Industry*

This has been of key importance. Even before the war, the development of Russian industry was sporadic and defective. There were great textile factories, but all the looms had been imported; there were vast industrial establishments of every description, but little actual machinery was made in Russia. Thus the industrial plant itself depended almost wholly on foreign sources for repair parts and extensions. The production of machinery is the most highly technical branch of industry. The creation in three years' time of a machine-making industry adequate to supply the needs of the existing Russian plant, with most of the available technical knowledge refusing to participate, and with the country in the throes of invasion and civil war, was a sheer impossibility. Without such an industry, however, the existing plant was largely at the mercy of the blockade; while the problem of plant extension was well-nigh insuperable.

Everywhere in Russia may be found machinery, both industrial and agricultural, which could be put in operation in a day's time by replacing some broken minor part. This part might be worth a few dollars, and could be ordered from the stock of dozens of machinery concerns in Europe and America. Yet the blockade has condemned the machine to inactivity; and all the ingenuity in the world could not supply the missing part without a machine-making industry. This fact has borne harder on the railroads than in any other quarter. There was but one locomotive works in Russia before the war; this plant turned out a negligible proportion of the yearly requirements of the Russian roads. The Soviets have bent their main energies to this problem, and have made strides toward its solution; yet hundreds of locomotives and cars constantly have been laid up for lack of minor repair parts. It is easy to see the immediate effect which freedom to buy railroad equipment in Western markets would have on the condition of Russian industry; for transportation dominates the whole industrial field.

The blockade has not deprived Russian industry of raw materials, since Russia has her own raw materials; yet, by limiting the efficiency of transportation, it has just as surely affected the raw materials situation. The same, of course, is true of the fuel situation.

4. *The Physical Plan of Russian Industrialism*

Russian industry was started by the great landlords; from the beginning, it was a forced and artificial enterprise. Factories were located in the most unnatural positions, without respect to their relation to raw materials, fuel, and markets, but with respect only to the factor of cheap labor. Great industrial communities would be established in some locality where the peasants were being forced from the land; while both fuel and raw materials had to be transported thousands of miles to these factories, and the goods which they produced had to be transported back to market.

The industrial city of Petrograd was in this sense a wholly artificial creation. Peter the Great founded the city on piles in the midst of a marsh; even before the era of industrialism, its development was notoriously artificial. As factories were built, and the city became a great industrial center, all its fuel had to be brought from the Donetz Basin in the lower Ukraine. The Soviets, faced by the problem of transportation, and with the Donetz Basin for two seasons overrun by counter-revolutionary forces, had largely to abandon Petrograd as an industrial center. It was drastic, but absolutely necessary. The wrong location of the Russian industrial plant everywhere bears heavily on the factor of transportation. The Soviets have had to take steps toward the general re-location of the plant, while at the same time they tried to keep the plant running in its present location. Their ultimate plan is to re-locate and extend the Russian plant in conformity with the natural physical factors of industry, namely, fuel supply, raw materials supply, transportation, and distribution. In this scheme the substitution of electric for fuel power has a large place.

In other words, the evils which have crept into the physical plan of our own industrial system—the location of factories at the whim of capital, far from fuel centers and sources of raw materials, and the consequent duplication of transportation, which ultimately has to be paid for by the consumer in the price of the finished product—had been carried to absurd and insupportable lengths in the establishment of Russia's infant industry. Distances are greater in Russia, and the factor of transportation influences the industrial problem there in larger proportion than anywhere else in the world. Unless these evils of industrial location were corrected at once, they would soon grow so formidable as to put an economic limit to all development in that direction. They could not be corrected except by drastic action. Thus some plants are running, while some have been abandoned; and statistics do not by any means tell the whole story.

5. *What Soviet Industry is Expected to Do*

There is a final consideration which has constantly to be borne in mind. Industry under communism can never be the same thing as industry under capitalism. It would be a critical error to apply our own standards to Soviet industrialism, and on this basis to measure its success or failure. Under capitalism industry is built on a foundation of private profit-making; this factor is paramount to the continuation of production. Under communism industry is held to be a public function, is operated in the welfare of the public, and the factor of private profit-making is wholly eliminated. The prime object of capitalist industry

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is to make more money for the shareholders. In communist industry there are no shareholders, and the prime object is to produce the most and best goods at the least cost. Under capitalism the laws of competition and of supply and demand are supposed to furnish the necessary checks and balances to keep the profit-making incentive within bounds and to maintain economic stability. Under communism these laws are disregarded, and industry is controlled by a highly centralized administrative agency which both estimates the demand and directs the production of the supply.

We are not here concerned with the relative merits of these two conceptions of the function of industry; we merely are interested in the vast difference between them which the facts bring out. Industry in Soviet Russia is bound to travel paths unfamiliar to us and to disclose unexpected results. Factories for the production of non-essentials will not flourish for a long time. The closing of certain lines of industry may be considered a step in the public welfare. The limitation on freedom to start production wherever money can be made will seem irksome to us. The fact that the welfare of the workers is a paramount consideration, and that the welfare of capital does not enter into the reckoning, since there is no capital in our sense of the word, will seem unaccountable to those reared in an industrialism where the welfare of capital is the first charge on production.

In fact, the whole conception of a publicly functioning and bureaucratically controlled industrialism lies so far outside the bounds of our experience as to render any view of the enterprise obscure. The fundamental divergence from the principles and practices of capitalism will appear everywhere in Soviet industrialism, affecting every aspect of the system. What seems to us like failure may, in the eyes of communism, be the best success. What is in fact a failure financially, may have infinite social value and be precisely what communism has been striving to accomplish. Indeed, this divergence already has begun to appear; and unless it is steadily borne in mind, no correct estimate of the condition of industry in Soviet Russia can be formed. We cannot understand the system unless we know what it is intended to do.

Cardinal Bourne and Ireland

By P. D. MURPHY

CARDINAL BOURNE'S condemnation of Sinn Fein in his recent Lenten pastoral, and the spirited reply thereto of Art O'Brien, president of the Gaelic League of London and also of the London branch of the Irish Self-Determination League, may be regarded as the opening shots in a campaign of which the world is likely to hear more in the near future. To those who have knowledge of the facts the wonder is that matters have not come to a head long before this. There is no love lost on either side, and though a public quarrel with a Catholic prelate is the last thing Sinn Fein desires, it will not deviate a hair's breadth to avoid one should the issue be joined, as it now seems to be.

The Cardinal, who is himself Irish on the mother's side, has seldom looked with favor on Irish aspirations. An intimate personal friend of Lord Edmond Talbot, chief whip of the Tory Party, as he also was of Lord Edmond's brother, the late Duke of Norfolk, his Eminence is everything that the Irish people most dislike in a dignitary of the Catholic church. The son of poor parents, he has sought his friends among the wealthiest and most reactionary members of his flock. He is a dyed-in-the-wool Tory, a self-confessed militarist, and an imperialist of the Rhodes-Chamberlain school. In the days when Redmond had Ireland more or less solidly behind him, the Cardinal's attitude toward the Nationalist Party was one of supreme indifference when it was not of open hostility. The bone of contention then was religious teaching in the elementary schools. The Liberal and Labor parties were opposed to religious instruction; and since it was from these that Redmond hoped to receive some measure of autonomy for his country, his relations with them amounted almost to an alliance. The Tories, on the other hand, dared not oppose religious teaching in the schools, not because they favored the Catholic point of view, but because they could not run counter to the Church of England, which was at one with the Catholics in this matter. In desperation John Dillon, who at the time was Redmond's chief lieutenant, took the whole question to Rome, and the Holy Father, after hearing his presentation of the facts, intrusted the task of safeguarding Catholic education in England to the Nationalist Party. But Bourne declined to budge. He was too firmly in the grip of the Duke of Norfolk and the other Catholic peers, who were Tories almost to a man.

Long before this, however, the Cardinal's relations with the Irish members of his congregation had become strained almost to the breaking-point. When the building of Westminster Cathedral was nearing completion the question of internal decoration and arrangement was a topic widely discussed by the Catholics of the archdiocese. As the bulk of these were Irish either by birth or descent it was decided, no doubt as a matter of policy, that the cathedral was to have an altar dedicated to St. Patrick. The Irish immediately opened a subscription list to defray the expense of installing the altar, but they reckoned without their host. No sooner was the Cardinal informed of what was being done than he put his foot down and ordered those responsible to return all subscriptions to the donors.

Again at the Eucharistic Congress held in London some few years before the war there were mutterings of disapproval at the scant recognition accorded to Ireland. Not a single Irish Catholic layman was invited to take part in the proceedings, though the program was packed with the names of English and foreign Catholic nonentities. The Cardinal (then archbishop) was in charge of the arrangements, and the Irish, not only in London but throughout England, were not slow to inform him of the feelings they entertained toward him over the matter.

Then there is the little-known case of Roger Casement and the abortive attempt of the English Cardinal to get the Vatican to move against the priest who was in attendance on the brilliant but ill-fated Irishman during his last days. Casement was born into the Catholic Church, but in afterlife he fell away from it. While occupying the condemned

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cell in Pentonville prison he desired to be reconciled to the Church, and expressed a wish to see a priest. In such cases the Church ordains that the reconciliation can be effected only after the priest has obtained the consent of his ecclesiastical superiors, unless there are cogent reasons to the contrary, when he is at liberty to act on his responsibility. The priest in this instance happened to be an Irishman, and he, deeming the circumstances to be such as to warrant his dispensing with higher authority, received Casement back into the Church, whereupon Cardinal Bourne sent for him and rebuked him for his action. If the matter were allowed to rest at that no great harm would have been done, but the Cardinal went to Rome to get the Pope to take disciplinary action against the offending clergyman. Now it so happened that there was in Rome at this time, as rector of the Irish college in that city, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastics that the Irish branch of the Church has thrown up in the last quarter of a century. This was the late Monsignor O'Riordan, who was at one time assistant to the late Dr. O'Dwyer of Limerick, the first Irish prelate to come out openly in favor of Sinn Fein. After the rising of Easter week English propagandists were particularly active in Rome, and to Monsignor O'Riordan fell the task of countering the English spokesmen. When, therefore, Cardinal Bourne arrived in Rome he found the ground so well prepared that the Vatican flatly refused to proceed against Roger Casement's confessor. Not only that, but the Cardinal himself was taken to task for his attitude in the case, and only for the earnest entreaties of the English envoy at the Vatican, backed by the appeals of the British Government, Bourne would never have returned to London as Cardinal archbishop of Westminster.

It will be seen, therefore, that the quarrel between Cardinal Bourne and the Irish is not of today or yesterday, nor is it the result of a single act, but rather of a settled policy due to the political affiliations of his Eminence. And when the Cardinal's position is analyzed the weakness of it immediately becomes apparent. The bulk of his congregation is Irish either by birth or descent, and the same is true also of his clergy. England is not producing sufficient priests for her needs, and Ireland is the principal source of supply for the English-speaking world. Today Irish priests are avoiding the English mission as the average man would avoid the plague, and if this is maintained, as there is every reason to believe that it will, the Cardinal may be compelled to close some of the churches in his archdiocese.

In his Lenten pastoral Cardinal Bourne recalls that he is the second occupant of the See of Westminster who has had to warn his flock against Irish insurrectionary movements. The other was, of course, Cardinal Manning, who denounced Fenianism in 1867. But Manning's stand was not so open as Bourne's. Fenianism was denounced by Rome and by all the Irish bishops. Manning simply sided with his superiors and confreres in 1867, whereas Bourne is today playing a lone hand if one excludes the Bishop of Cork, Dr. Cohalan, a man of no political strength and of very little ecclesiastical moment. Then, too, Fenianism was at best only an Irish faction, whereas Sinn Fein is the Irish nation. An Irish archbishop of an earlier generation once felt constrained to point out to the Pope of his day that while Ireland could exist without Rome, Rome could not exist without Ireland. It is conceivable that should the occasion again arise Ireland would not want for a prelate to remind the present occupant of the Throne of Peter of that historic warning. In that lies the strength of the Sinn Fein position and the weakness of Cardinal Bourne's; and in that, too, no doubt, lies the reason why the Vatican, despite the efforts of the British Government, has steadfastly refused to condemn Sinn Fein.

The Fifth Report of the hearings before the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland will appear in the next issue of The Nation.

On the Road

By HANIEL LONG

At Dawn

At dawn the trees gaze down
in the moving mirror of the river;
and a white cottage
steps out of the shadows
and gazes down;
and a boy comes out of the cottage
and runs to the diving board,
and he too pauses, and gazes.
At dawn the whole world
is narcissine.

Country Postman

Along dusty roads
murmurs the postman's Ford,
a black bee going from farm-house to farm-house
(great white blossoms, waiting
under the fans of elms).

Pittsburghers

At midnight the stars,
white talons of eternity,
attempt to seize us;
but we are hiding
beneath black roofs of tombs,
black plumes of smoke.

Earth

Earth is a long coast
fronting the quiet
of eternity;
and in our night-time stars go by
like the far-away lights of ships.

A Certain State University

Did you picture her an athletic girl
racing onward with the Torch—
did you see her young and aflame?
Nay, she sits day after day
in her arm-chair, napping.
She is obese, deaf,
bundled in shawls.

The Audience at the Symphony

These souls,
like living fish thrown back into a sea,
are vanishing in the depths
where they are safe.

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Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

III. THEODORE DREISER

MUCH concerned about wisdom as Theodore Dreiser is, he almost wholly lacks the dexterous knowingness which has marked the mass of fiction in the age of O. Henry. Not only has Mr. Dreiser never allowed any one to make up his mind for him regarding the significance and aims and obligations of mankind, but he has never made up his mind himself. A large dubitancy colors all his reflections. "All we know is that we cannot know." The only law about which we can be reasonably certain is the law of change. Justice is "an occasional compromise struck in an eternal battle." Virtue and honesty are "a system of weights and measures, balances struck between man and man." Prudence no less than philosophy demands, then, that we hold ourselves constantly in readiness to discard our ancient creeds and habits and step valiantly around the corner beyond which reality will have drifted even while we were building our houses on what seemed the primeval and eternal rock. Tides of change rise from deeps below deeps; cosmic winds of change blow upon us from boundless chaos; mountains, in the long geologic seasons, shift and flow like clouds; and the everlasting heavens may some day be shattered by the explosion or pressure of new circumstances. Somewhere in the scheme man stands punily on what may be an Ararat rising out of the abyss—or only a promontory of the moment sinking back again; there all his strength is devoted to a dim struggle for survival. How in this flickering universe shall man claim for himself the honors of any important antiquity or any important destiny? What, in this vast accident, does human dignity amount to?

For a philosopher with views so wide it is difficult to be a dramatist or a novelist. If he is consistent the most portentous human tragedy must seem to him only a tiny gasp for breath, the most delightful human comedy only a tiny flutter of joy. Against a background of suns dying on the other side of Aldebaran, any mole trodden upon by some casual hoof may appear as significant a personage as an Oedipus or a Lear in his last agony. To be a novelist or dramatist at all, such a cosmic philosopher must contract his vision to the little island we inhabit, must adjust his interest to mortal proportions and concerns, must match his narrative to the scale by which we ordinarily measure our lives. The muddle of elements so often obvious in Mr. Dreiser's work comes from the conflict within him of huge, expansive moods and a conscience working hard to be accurate in its representation of the most honest facts of manners and character. Granted, he might reasonably argue, that the plight and stature of all mankind are essentially so mean, the novelist need not seriously bother himself with the task of looking about for its heroic figures. Plain stories of plain people are as valuable as any others. Since all larger doctrines and ideals are likely to be false in a precarious world, it is best to stick as close as possible to the individual. When the individual is sincere he has at least some positive attributes; his record may have a genuine significance for others if it is presented with absolute candor. Indeed, we can partially escape from the general meaninglessness of life at large by being or studying individuals who are sincere, and who are therefore the origins and centers of some kind of reality.

That the sincerity which Mr. Dreiser practices differs in some respects from that of any other American novelist, no matter how truthful, must be referred to one special quality of his own temperament. Historically he has his fellows: he belongs with the movement toward naturalism which came to America in the nineties, when Hamlin Garland and Stephen Crane and Frank Norris, partly as a protest against the bland realism which Howells expounded, were dissenting in their various dialects from the reticences and the romances then current. Personally Mr. Dreiser displays, almost alone among American novelists, the characteristics of what for lack of a better native term we have to call the peasant type—the type to which Gorki belongs and which Tolstoy wanted to belong to. Enlarged by genius though Mr. Dreiser is; open as he is to all manner of novel sensations and ideas; little as he is bound by the rigor of village habits and prejudices—still he carries wherever he goes the true peasant simplicity of outlook, speaks with the peasant's bald frankness, and suffers a peasant confusion in the face of complexity. How far he sees life on one simple plane may be illustrated by his short story "When the Old Century was New," an attempt to reconstruct in fiction the New York of 1801 which shows him, in spite of some deliberate erudition, to be amazingly unable to feel at home in another age than his own. This same simplicity of outlook makes "A Traveler at Forty" so revealing a document, makes the Traveler appear a true Innocent Abroad without the hilarious and shrewd self-sufficiency of a frontiersman of genius like Mark Twain. While it is true that Mr. Dreiser's plain-speaking on a variety of topics euphemized by earlier American realists has about it some look of conscious intention, and is undoubtedly sustained by his literary principles, still his candor essentially inheres in his nature: he thinks in blunt terms before he speaks in them. He speaks bluntly even upon the more subtle and intricate themes—finance and sex and art—which interest him above all others.

On the whole he probably succeeds best with finance. The career of Cowperwood in "The Financier" and "The Titan," a career notoriously based upon that of Charles T. Yerkes, allowed Mr. Dreiser to exercise his virtue of patient industry and to build up a solid monument of fact which, though often dull enough, nevertheless continues generally to convince, at least in respect to Cowperwood's business enterprises. The American financier, after all, has rarely had much subtlety in his makeup. Single-minded, tough-skinned, ruthless, "suggesting a power which invents man for one purpose and no other, as generals, saints, and the like are invented," he shoulders and hurls his bulk through a sea of troubles and carries off his spoils. Such a man as Frank Cowperwood Mr. Dreiser understands. He understands the march of desire to its goal. He seems always to have been curious regarding the large operations of finance, at once stirred on his poetical side by the intoxication of golden dreams, something as Marlowe was in "The Jew of Malta," and on his cynical side struck by the mechanism of craft and courage and indomitable impulse

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which the financier employs. Mr. Dreiser writes, it is true, as an outsider; he simplifies the account of Cowperwood's adventures after wealth, touching the record here and there with the naive hand of a peasant—even though a peasant of genius—wondering how great riches are actually obtained and guessing somewhat awkwardly at the mystery. And yet these guesses come nearer to the truth than they might have come were either the typical financier or Mr. Dreiser more subtle. You cannot set a poet to catch a financier and be at all sure of the prize. As it is, this Trilogy of Desire (never completed in the third part which was to show Cowperwood extending his mighty foray into London) is as considerable an epic as American business has yet to show.

Cowperwood's lighter hours are devoted to pursuits almost as polygamous as those of the leader of some four-footed herd. In this respect the novels which celebrate him stand close to the more popular "Sister Carrie" and "Jennie Gerhardt," both of them annals of women who fall as easily as Cowperwood's many mistresses into the hand of the conquering male. If Mr. Dreiser refuses to withhold his approbation from the lawless financier, he withholds it even less from the lawless lover. No moralism overlays the biology of these novels. Sex in them is a free-flowing, expanding energy, working resistlessly through all human tissue, knowing in itself neither good nor evil, habitually at war with the rules and taboos which have been devised by mankind to hold its amative impulses within convenient bounds. To the cosmic philosopher what does it matter whether this or that human male mates with this or that human female, or whether the mating endures beyond the passionate moment? Viewing such matters thus Mr. Dreiser constantly underestimates the forces which in civil society actually do restrain the expansive moods of sex. At least he chooses to represent love almost always in its vagrant hours. For this his favorite situation is in large part responsible: that of a strong man no longer generously young, loving downward to some plastic, ignorant girl dazzled by his splendor and immediately compliant to his advances. Mr. Dreiser is obsessed by the spectacle of middle age renewing itself at the fires of youth—an obsession which has its sentimental no less than its naturalistic traits. What he most conspicuously leaves out of account is the will and personality of women, whom he sees, or at least represents, with hardly any exceptions as mere fools of love, mere wax to the wooer, who have no separate identities till some lover shapes them. To something like this simplicity the role of women in love is reduced by those Boccaccian fabulists who adorn the village taproom and the corner grocery.

Mr. Dreiser is reported to consider "The 'Genius,'" a massive, muddy, powerful narrative, his greatest novel, though as a matter of fact it cannot be compared with "Sister Carrie" for insight or accuracy or charm. His partiality may perhaps be ascribed to his strong inclination toward the life of art, through which his 'Genius' moves, half hero and half picaro. Witla remains mediocre enough in all but his sexual unscrupulousness, but he is impelled by a driving force more or less like those forces which impel Cowperwood. The will to wealth, the will to love, the will to art! Mr. Dreiser conceives them all as blind energies with no goal except self-realization. So conceiving them he tends to see them as less conditioned than they ordinarily are in their earthly progress by the resistance of statute and habit. Particularly is this true of his representation of the careers of artists. Carrie becomes a noted actress in a few short weeks; Witla almost as rapidly becomes a noted illustrator; other minor characters here and there in the novels are said to have prodigious power without exhibiting it. Hardly ever does there appear any delicate, convincing analysis of the mysterious behavior of genius. Mr. Dreiser's artists are hardly persons at all; they are creatures driven, and the wonder lies primarily in the impelling energy. The cosmic philosopher in him sees the beginning and end of the artistic process better than the novelist in him sees its methods. And the peasant in him, though it knows the world of art as vivid and beautiful and though it has investigated that world at first hand, still leads him to report it in terms often quaint, melodramatic, invincibly rural. Consider the hundreds, perhaps thousands of times, he calls things "artistic."

Two of his latest books indicate the range of his gifts and his excellences. In "Hey Rub-A-Dub-Dub," which he calls "A Book of the Mystery and Wonder and Terror of Life," he undertook to expound his general philosophy and produced the most negligible of all his works. He has no faculty for sustained argument. Like Byron, as soon as he begins to reason, he is less than half himself. In "Twelve Men," on the other hand, he displays the qualities by virtue of which he attracts and deserves a serious attention. Rarely generalizing, he portrays a dozen actual persons he has known, all his honesty brought to the task of making his account fit the reality exactly, and all his large tolerance exercised to present the truth without malice or excuses. Here lies the field of his finest victories, here and in those adjacent tracts of other books which are nearest this simple method: his representation of old Gerhardt and of Aaron Berchansky in "The Hand of the Potter"; numerous sketches of character in "A Hoosier Holiday"; the tenderly conceived record of Caroline Meeber, wispy and witless as she often is; the masterly study of Hurstwood's deterioration—this last the peak among all Mr. Dreiser's successes. Not the incurable awkwardness of his style nor his occasional merciless verbosity nor his too frequent interposition of crude argument can destroy the effect which he produces at his best—that of a noble spirit brooding over a world which in spite of many condemnations he deeply, somberly loves. Something peasantlike in his genius may blind him a little to the finer shades of character and set him astray in his reports of cultivated society. His conscience about telling the plain truth may suffer at times from a dogmatic tolerance which refuses to draw lines between good and evil or between beautiful and ugly or between wise and foolish. But he gains, on the whole, more than he loses by the magnitude of his cosmic philosophizing. These puny souls over which he broods, with so little dignity in themselves, take on a dignity from his contemplation of them. Small as they are, he has come to them from long flights, and has brought back a lifted vision which enriches his drab narratives. Something spacious, something now lurid now luminous, surrounds them. From somewhere sound accents of an authority not sufficiently explained by the mere accuracy of his versions of life. Though it may indeed be difficult for a thinker of the widest views to contract himself to the dimensions needed for realistic art, and though he may often fail when he attempts it, when he does succeed he has the opportunity, which the mere worldling lacks, of ennobling his art with some of the great light of the poets.

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Women and the Law

By SUE S. WHITE

COURTS have been and still are distinctly masculine institutions. They must become human institutions, and they can do so only through the participation of women in the administration and application of the law. This is just as important as the rewriting of laws to wipe out the technical discriminations against women. Perhaps it is more important. Women should be encouraged to enter the legal profession and to sit as judges and jurors. Until they are fairly represented throughout the entire structure of the law the chances are that they will never receive justice in the courts.

The operation of the Federal suffrage amendment has made eligible for jury service the women of a number of States who were formerly disqualified by the use of the words "voter" or "elector" as the primary qualifying terms. In at least one of these States, Iowa, it is reported that an extremely cautious jury commission resolved to give the women a year's immunity "in which to render themselves competent for jury service." In other States, such as Florida, Minnesota, and Maryland, the word "male" is used as the primary qualifying term. In Georgia there is a general statute providing that women may not perform any civil function unless especially authorized by law, and in other States, where they are qualified for jury duty by the suffrage amendment as "electors," such as Texas, Massachusetts, and Delaware, the courts have not yet acknowledged women's eligibility as jurors.

In the law itself, apart from its interpretation, discriminations against women still exist as relics of the common law which has been patched up here and there by statutes. It is unnecessary to go into details. A few examples will suffice.

It is a fundamental rule of law that the husband has the right to fix the place of abode, implied from his duty to provide a home. Unfortunately, while the implication often fails, the fundamental rule prevails. As a Georgia court held: "The house in which the husband and wife live is the house of the husband, though the wife pays the rent and supports the husband." In California, where there is an express statutory provision that for the purposes of voting the residence of the husband is the residence of the wife, the wife must support the husband out of her separate property if he has not deserted her, or if he has no separate property and is unable by reason of infirmity to support himself. The result is that such a husband, supported by the wife, would be the head of the house. This rule applies not only to the wife but also to the residence of the child, and may affect the rights of inheritance and succession, which vary in the different States. It underlies the Federal statute expatriating American women who marry foreigners. It constitutes the wife a deserter within the meaning of the divorce laws if she refuses to live in the home which the husband selects.

Most of the States have equal guardianship laws, but in interpreting such laws, the courts recognize the common-law rule that the father is the natural guardian of the child and has the preferential right to control its estate and person. The following decisions are typical:

The father is head of the family and is prima facie entitled to the custody of the child against all persons, including the mother, but the right to custody may be forfeited by misconduct or lost by misfortune.

As a general principle, upon the separation of the husband and wife, the father is entitled to the custody and control of the minor children, because he is bound for their maintenance and support.

To entitle a wife separated from her husband to the custody of her children, it is not enough to show that he is occasionally drunk, though not so as to interfere with his business.

Even as between the father and mother, the right to the custody of their child is generally in the former, unless the child, on account of tender years, or being a female, imperatively requires for its well-being that attention which a mother's love and care can alone supply.

There is a general impression that the "married women's acts" have removed all inequality as to property. This is not true. Mere "separate property" laws do not contemplate any recognition of the wife's contribution to the economic standing of the family through her labor in the home. Usually, where "separate property" laws are in effect, they mean little if anything for the wife, unless through inheritance from her family or by work outside of the home she acquires something which she may hold as a separate estate. In Florida, she may have her separate estate, but it remains in the "care and management of the husband." Such statutes are always strictly construed, and mean no more than they say by strict technical interpretation. Georgia has a separate property law, yet the earnings of the wife belong to the husband, unless there is express or implied consent on his part that they shall be retained by her.

As to eligibility for office, the qualifying word "male" will have to be removed from the statute book in many States. Georgia's comprehensive prohibitive statute against women holding any civil office or performing any civil functions unless specially authorized by law excludes from its operation only a few minor offices.

An instance of legal discrimination in grounds for divorce is found in Kentucky. One of the causes of divorce allowed the husband is "adultery by the wife, or such lewd, lascivious behavior on her part as proves her to be unchaste, without actual proof of an act of adultery." There is no corresponding ground for divorce to the wife; but one of the grounds for divorce to the party not in fault is "living in adultery with another man or woman." The result of this provision is that one act of adultery by the wife is ground for divorce by the husband, but one such act by the husband is not ground for divorce by the wife. Again, a cause for divorce to the husband is "where the wife is pregnant by another man without the husband's knowledge at the time of the marriage." There is no provision giving the wife a divorce if the husband is proved to be the father of an illegitimate child without the wife's knowledge at the time of his marriage.

Such instances only suggest the extent of the legal disabilities still affecting American women. From the man who is made by the law responsible for his wife's debts, even though she may be in business for herself, to the woman who is allowed no control of her own earnings, everyone is concerned with these glaring injustices. Their abolition is the next step in the fight for women's equality. And this task the National Woman's Party, which has played so important a part in demanding and securing the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, is determined to carry through to the finish.

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Why the Sherman Anti-Trust Law Has Failed

By GILSON GARDNER

ANTI-TRUST laws do not prevent or reform trusts. Twenty years of futile and expensive litigation has proved this. It is the testimony of the Federal Trade Commission that trusts are bigger, more inclusive, and more tyrannical than ever. William B. Colver, when a member of the Commission, said graphically that the trust of today is to that of the old days when there was an outcry against Standard Oil and the Beef Trust as the modern high-powered automobile is to the old one-lunged horseless wagon of ten years ago.

Formerly trusts combined the production of some one commodity. Nowadays the trust combines, in addition, competing, or possibly competing, commodities. By ownership, interlocking directorates, secret and public agreements trusts monopolize the production and sale of hundreds of commodities as diverse in character as a can of beef and a volume of Ibsen. According to their own catalogues the meat packers, for instance, deal in no less than 483 distinct commodities, their activities ranging from owning banks to making buttons.

And what about the Sherman law? And the Federal Trade law and the Clayton law? And what about the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Standard Oil case, and the Tobacco case, and the Northern Securities case? Are laws and Supreme Court decisions of no avail?

They are of no avail. Look them over. About seventeen years ago there occurred that great "victory" over those who would bring the principle of combination into the railway business. Under President Roosevelt, Philander Knox as Attorney General won the Northern Securities case. The wicked trust-makers were wiping out competition between the two leading railway systems of the Northwest, and the Government enjoined them under the Sherman law. But the real unification of the two railway systems was accomplished by joint ownership secured through a bond issue underlying both properties. In the court's decree this bond issue was not disturbed and competition between the two railway systems never was restored.

After the Government's "victory" over the Standard Oil Trust the owners of Standard stock received a collection of stock certificates of different shades, representing their ownership in the component parts of the Standard Company, and they went on drawing the same dividends, and the managers went on with the same management as before. The value of the securities as listed on the stock exchange at once went up and the cost of products to the consumer did the same. The Supreme Court decision against the Tobacco Trust was substantially the same as in the Standard Oil case and the consequences were the same. The underlying ownership which is the basis of control was not disturbed, and the court made no effort to disturb it. Many years ago Congress passed a law that railroads should not own or operate coal properties. In the Reading case the Supreme Court reversed that act and there has never been any pretense at separation of mining properties and the carrying companies which make possible price control and monopoly. In the Steel Trust case the Supreme Court announced a "rule of reason" to the effect that efficiency and economy are served by certain of the largest and best trusts and that the court would therefore put its judgment against the letter of the law and refuse to interfere. The experience of the Beef Trust with the so-called Anti-Trust law are ludicrous. First there was the effort of Attorney General Moody, of the Roosevelt administration, to bring the Beef Trust to law. But the Commissioner of Corporations or somebody had inadvertently given the trust gentlemen an "immunity bath" by investigating them; so the prosecution fell to the ground, amid cheers and jeers.

Early in the Wilson administration the Federal Trade Commission started an inquiry into Beef Trust methods, presumably to see if the packers were practicing only "fair" competition. The only effect of this has been to bring the thumbs of the packer gentlemen to their noses and to unite them in a sort of Indian war dance around the Federal Trade Commission, their publicity agents beating the tom-toms and their advertising agents piling on the faggots. Meantime Attorney General Mitchell Palmer, instead of going through the customary motions of enforcing the Sherman law, puts himself in the position of government fixer for the packers, and amiably shows them how to avoid further trouble at his hands. Which species of activity under the old English law, when applied to serious offenses, was called "compounding a felony" and was itself made felonious.

If there are any other efforts which the Government has made to "enforce" the Sherman law they might be cited to the same conclusion, namely, that the law has accomplished nothing but expensive and futile litigation. Trusts have not been abolished or curbed. The size of holding corporations has not been reduced. No regulative control has been applied, and the cost of the product to consumer has not been lessened. Why? Are our courts and government officials so corrupt that a law drawn in the interest of the people cannot be enforced? Or is the trouble with the law?

The trouble is undoubtedly with the law. The Sherman law is the product of an unsound economic theory. It is based on the assumption that a statute law can be enforced against an economic law—the theory that a government edict can determine the price of bread. That this cannot be done was learned at the outbreak of the French Revolution. And it has been demonstrated over and over again in every country of the world affected by the late war. Even in the famine-ridden Central Powers countries there has never been a day when money would not buy food; nor a day when governments could force a single price for food. Competition and the law of supply and demand are always superior to a government edict.

"Conspiracy" in restraint of trade is what the Sherman Act talks about. "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade—is hereby declared to be illegal." Could any court enforce such a law if it wanted to? Suppose Mr. Swift calls Mr. Armour on his house phone at midnight and they agree to support Mr. Cudahy in refraining from raising the price of hogs on the following day, what is Mr. Justice White going to do about it? Who is going to tap the wires to get the evidence which will start a lawsuit to prevent a

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meeting of the minds of the five men engaged in the packing industry? Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely. "Combination?" "Contract?" "Conspiracy?" No statute can prevent them. Probably no statute can punish them. A secret business agreement is a thing beyond the law.

"In restraint of trade" is what the law talks about. The wiping out of competition is what the legislators had in mind. Agreements and conspiracies wipe out competition. The wiping out of competition results in higher prices or poorer service. What the act aimed to get was lower prices and better service, and these things it was hoped to get by restoring healthy competition. But these gentlemen went at it with the idea that a statute could make men compete who found it to their commercial interest not to compete. The law says to the Steel Trust gentlemen, "You must cut one another's throats. You must underbid and slash prices, in order that the consuming public may get cheaper steel. You must not meet in Gary dinners. And you Beef Packers, you must not use the telephone between each other's houses. You must not consult the same attorney. You must not own the same refrigerator cars. You must regard one another as commercial prey and prey on one another and not on the public." The Sherman law is silly. It was conceived in economic ignorance and brought forth an economic fallacy.

One element in trust control the law and courts could control, to a certain extent, namely, *ownership*. But except in the case of land and material things like refrigerator cars, railroads, and manufacturing plants even that control would be difficult. But with these the legislators have not wished to interfere. Even the ownership through stock companies is permitted practically without limit.

Is there then no way to "curb the rapacity of trusts"? During the late war the governments of the world found a way. But it was not by edicts against agreements. It was a very simple way. For example, when they wished to curb the effect of undue competition among purchasers of wheat, they created a "revolving fund" and became buyers and sellers of wheat. England became the "owner" of every bushel of wheat which entered her empire. The United States through the Sugar Board became the principal owner and the chief buyer and seller of sugar in the United States. The Government went into the field of capital and through the War Finance Corporation became a source of supply of capital to those who needed it, competing thus with the too timid or too monopolistic private capital. Competition was restored by competition. When necessary, Government competition was put up against private competition, and the result was more reasonable prices.

If the forty-eight States should take it into their heads to set up public abattoirs for the killing of their State flocks and herds the competition might be salutary to the Big Five. It would, at least, be more effective as a remedy against monopoly than Mr. Sherman's "thou shalt nots." Or, if the Federal Government should become so war-socialistic as to set up regional stock yards where the commercial demand seemed to need them, the next time a war occurred the packers might be less flagrant profiteers. If the Government should decree—by a tax law or otherwise—that no mining lands should be held out of use metal products might become more abundant and cheap. If warehouses and other strategic terminal facilities were freed from private exploitation and treated as public utilities under public ownership and management, the effects would be quite different from those produced by the Sherman law.

It may be that our trusts should not be interfered with. It may be that the laissez-faire plan is the best that can be devised, and that any effort to protect the many against the few who are strong or cunning is a waste of effort. That, of course, is a question to be debated and settled quite apart from the problem of how the thing might be done. But admitting a desire to do something the roads are open in several directions.

The Federal Trade Commission was a new experiment in the attempt at restoring competition. It has to do with "unfair" competition. Competitive practices which are unfair come under the ban of this new law. Commercial bribery, spying, egregious misrepresentation and bludgeonry are the things which interest the Federal Trade Commission.

Not officially, of course, but in practice, this Commission concerns itself only with middle-sized business. The unfair competition of the many-languaged immigrants for a chance to live on a plane of bare subsistence does not interest the Federal Trade Commission. Neither does the competition of the Brindell building trade combine in New York or the Steel Trust, or the Harvester Trust, or the Fertilizer Trust, or any other of the big trusts. But when the middle-sized varnish makers or twine makers or stationery makers get to roughing it too hard they are called in, given a lecture, and told to cut out the rowdy stuff. And this they are generally glad to do. Competition among the middle-sized economic personages is like the exhibition wrestling match at the country fair. It is vigorous and earnest so far as it goes; but there are rules. Biting and gouging are barred. In the competition among the economic giants commercial assassination is the regular order of the day and starvation by Russian blockade is a conventional method.

In these days when it is very much the thing to make "surveys" of social and industrial conditions it might be informing to have a survey of competition. What is the condition of competition today in the industrial world? Where does it flourish most healthily? Where is there least competition? Where most? What is the result where competition is bitter and what is the result where it is least bitter? Is competition the life of trade, or isn't it? And who made that profound statement anyway? If competition is good how much of it is good and when does it become bad?

The Federal Trade Commission says the modern Trust presents a problem which Congress and the courts have not even considered. Isn't it about time to begin to consider it?

Contributors

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter turned into Fifth Avenue and walked north slowly. Life was exceedingly difficult; the famine in China grew apace; President Harding's cabinet was depressing; and another war seemed sickeningly imminent. He passed people who seemed not even to know of these things—happy, laughing people, thoughtful people, dull and stupid-looking people—and this was still more depressing. He resolved to keep his eyes glued to the sidewalk which was properly gray and hard and dusty. Perhaps it was some strange and sudden sound, or the flash of color from a woman's hat, that made him turn his head. What was his astonishment to see at his side a slender youth with steady eyes and an incredibly quick and lithe step—and not one stitch of clothing to cover his nakedness! The Drifter gasped and looked quickly about him, but no one seemed to notice this unconventional and totally unclad being treading the streets in broad daylight. No policeman rushed out of the nearest building with a blanket. People walked quietly or noisily about their business as if—the Drifter passed a dazed hand across his eyes—as if the figure were invisible.

* * * * *

"WHO are you?" the Drifter dared to whisper to the stranger. The youth smiled again. "I am Spring," he said quietly. "Look up. Is not the sky a new and clearer shade of blue? Smell the air. Has it not a freshness that you have not known for a year? I did that. The earth is waking; I come even here." It was undeniably so, even on Fifth Avenue; across the street the Drifter saw an Italian with a tray of crocuses and pansies, even delicate pink anemones. But he refused to be heartened. "How can you come back to so sad a world?" he said. Spring nodded. "I know," he replied. "You would think that. Man animals are very stupid. They howl and fight over a bone all year round. But I come just the same. And the grass grows, and trees bud, and flowers open, and even the sea becomes warm and mellow and curves more tenderly about the sand. But the heart of man is still locked in the cave of winter. He refuses to roll joyously upon the earth. It is seldom that he even sees me. But I do not despair. Some day—" His voice died away, and as the Drifter started eagerly to reply the youth vanished. He rubbed his eyes again. Had it all been a dream? But no, there was the blue sky and the fresh, clean-smelling air, and the Italian selling crocuses. He found himself walking with a quicker step and keeping his eyes not on the gray, hard, and dusty sidewalks, but on the strip of blue that showed between the buildings and a white cloud that sailed across from roof to roof.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Tariff Comment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Like most boys and girls of Yankee stock I was brought up to regard begging and borrowing as shameful. What is a protective tariff except a vast and hideous system of borrowing so managed that it is, in last analysis, nothing but sheer robbery? A comparatively small proportion of the citizens of the United States, through subservient Representatives in Congress, extort from all the inhabitants a tax equivalent to the difference between the prices of all articles wherever produced that would naturally find a market here and the prices artificially augmented by the tariff.

If I prefer to use for shaving the Euxesis of the worthy Widow of A. S. Lloyd of London—which together with its comical label in decent English and French of Stratford-atte-Bowe, at the rate of three tubes for a dollar—I must now, in order to help some American manufacturer, whom I never saw and do not know, but undoubtedly a millionaire with a limousine, pay twice or three times as much for an inferior article or for the English product. I object to having even my American neighbor extract from me that small sum. *Ex uno disce omnes.* This Robin Hood borrowing is a disgrace; it is immoral; it comes near being a crime; and those that participate in its stolen fruits are smutched by it, and all of us who permit it without protest are to that extent guilty.

Any kind of borrowing or stealing is bad enough, but enforced tribute is unpardonable.

Boston, February 26 NATHAN HASKELL DOLE

Gopher Prairie College

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of the things I have against Sinclair Lewis is that he made Gopher Prairieism so hard to say. One just must say it. Occasions arise which make it imperative to say it. And now to the grief of one of these occasions I have to add the sorrow of using this awkwardest new word of the decade. This grief of mine is real. I write to you not to be smart about it, but because I smart on account of it. The grief is that I have discovered Gopher Prairie College and that she is my own beloved alma mater. To me, remote from her for many years, she was and yet remains in heart and mind cherished and wrapped up in dreams of her. Dreams of her splendid purity. Of her love and hospitality to truth from whatsoever quarter. Of her fine pointing to the stars. Dreams of the dreams she gave to me in youth. Of her uncontamination. Of her sureness, of her serenity. And of the day when I should return to her, as a pilgrim who goes to worship, there in her cool, friendly halls to purify myself and catch again an echo of those young dreams.

But now! Now I feel the pain of a son who has caught his mother in immorality. That it is but an academic mother does not change the quality of the pain.

The frank confession of her sin is here in a beautiful booklet that lies before me. For Alma Mater is out for Two Million and, to get it, I am sure she has pawned her soul to an ad writer. I cannot think that she did this thing herself. On the cover, under dear and beautiful old Center Hall, stand these brazen words—*Pure American.* And within these things follow:

> This part of the State is inhabited almost exclusively by people of old American ancestry. The College has its being, therefore, in an atmosphere saturated with ideas and habits of thought which are distinctly and purely American. In a time of uncertain leadership and confusing utterances, it is important that young men should be educated in an atmosphere of real loyalty. The College is not ashamed of being old-fashioned enough to believe in the United States and the form of government which has stood the test of nearly a century and a half. . . . Students are taught that they are a part of the national structure, and loyalty to country is a cardinal virtue. . . . Without casting the least reflection on the policy of co-education, the College is and expects to remain a college for men only. . . . Our beloved Alma Mater was founded by men of deep and abiding faith. God forbid that we should depart from the essential features of their teaching in this respect. . . . Unless the religious atmosphere of the College is maintained, they fought poverty and malaria in vain. . . . American History and Polity are taught with completeness and power so that our young men shall not only be informed in the details of the romantic story of the nation, but shall also learn to respect and love its government and institutions. . . . If we

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were asking for a penny to add to our curriculum imitation research, or any other side show whatsoever for advertising purposes, then we ought not to receive the penny. . . . The College has no dogma to defend. No restraint has ever been or will ever be placed upon freedom of thought. [Would an interlinear "pony" add "if unexpressed"?] However, certain beliefs which may be outlined as follows have been woven into the fabric of the College: the religion of Christ is the only satisfactory solution of individual and social problems. Political and economic changes must come by way of evolution, not revolution. As a people, we must abide by the great Anglo-Saxon tradition in matters of government. Hence, radical socialism and communism are heresies which must be fought and destroyed. If we need a new political creed, we shall make one. We shall not need to go to the haunts of German socialism or to the steppes of Russia for models or materials.

These are the closing words, and one wonders why they ever went as far as the stony hills of Samaria for anything; for "materials" now so perverted. But one thing seems sure. They will not have to go that far for the Two Million. If a "creed" like this will not get it, what will? And under which glorious tree, I wonder, of that fine old campus shall I find, when at last I do go back, the Golden Calf set up?

New York, February 26 C. G. J.

Views of Verse

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Please accept my most earnest congratulations on the two prize poems—Prelude: When the Dead Awaken, by James Rorty, and May Jones Takes the Air, by Roy Helton. These poems should receive not only prizes, but praises of every exhilarating variety.

Springfield, Ill., February 14 VACHEL LINDSAY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I asked, at the proper time, a poet, who is also a friend of mine, why he was not going to make "a try" for *The Nation* poetry prize. "Oh," he said, as I see now clairvoyantly, "because of the award!" I was a little puzzled; but waited patiently till the issue of February 9, and then read the following lines of the joint prize winner:

> And two of them are happy-drunk, and they sit in the street with mud on their uniforms that was never there before;
> And one of them gets down on his hands and knees like a seventy-five, and barks:
> Blah! . . . Blah! . . . Blah-blah! And the other squats down opposite him in the mud. . . .

Don't you think that he, being a poet, was justified in "staying out"? Were Mark Antony still living, I imagine he would apply his famous comment on judgment and reason to other things than merely the murder of Caesar.

Williamsport, Pa., February 11 O. R. HOWARD THOMPSON

The Pedestal of Principle

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read your comment (page 326, March 2) on the Kansas prosecution of Alexander Howat. You say that to imprison Howat "sets him on a pedestal and increases his influence."

You do not get the Western viewpoint. Alexander Howat is looked upon by the people and courts of Kansas as a lawbreaker. Does it put an automobile thief or highway robber on a pedestal to arrest and imprison him for breaking the law? If Howat has violated the Kansas laws he will surely pay the penalty, and whether he likes the laws of Kansas or not he would do better to obey them while he is in the State or else seek more congenial surroundings.

Kansas City, March 2 HOMER REED

Blind Gentians

By ABBIE HUSTON EVANS

I saw them under the tree and angrily cried
"It is against nature thus to be denied!"
I saw blind buds that God made grow,
Never to do as flowers do, never to blow.

Bees fumbled at them. (God, I sweat to think
What bitterness may be for me to drink!)
Bees fumbled at them by the linden tree.
(What can happen to a flower can happen to me!)

Books

Feminism—Good, Bad, and Indifferent

Taboo and Genetics. By M. M. Knight, Iva Lowther Peters, Phyllis Blanchard. Moffat, Yard and Company.

Foundations of Feminism. By Avrom Barnett. Robert M. McBride and Company.

The Passionate Spectator. By Jane Burr. Thomas Seltzer.

THE whole woman question has derived new interest and increased prestige from the success of woman suffrage. The sudden release of the franchise has acted like a magical ice-breaker which makes self-expression easily and riotously possible. Fresh protagonists of feminism rise up daily in unexpected quarters and new converts from both sexes are momentarily added. Enthusiasm abounds, but too rarely is it tempered by discipline. Here is a man who rationalizes his uxorious disposition and calls it feminism, and here is a woman who rationalizes her native self-indulgence and calls *that* feminism. To add to the general vagueness and confusion, we have Mr. W. L. George proclaiming himself before an international public as a Feminist with a capital F, while Charlotte Perkins Gilman responds but coldly to the title with or without the capital. The situation is certainly bewildering.

A book like "Taboo and Genetics" appears like a clean and clarifying Gulf Stream cleaving the turgid waters. It should be widely and studiously read by women. The authors have combined three studies of the foundation of the family, writing from the respective standpoints of biology, sociology, and psychology. The biologist leads off, reassuring us at the start with the statement that "it is time to abandon the notion that biology prescribes in detail how we shall run society," and furthermore that "we must stop trying to apply the sex-ways of birds, spiders, or even cows (which are at least mammals) to human society, which is not made up of any of these." One is willing to trust one's self to a biologist like this. Having thus put the science in its place, the author proceeds to make it very interesting and relevant. The latest theory about the determination of sex and the still later experiments in converting individuals of one sex into individuals of the other are briefly outlined. Lester Ward is tenderly laid on the shelf to make way for the English gynecologist, Dr. Blair Bell, and the German surgeon, Dr. Eugen Steinach. These two authorities have produced surgical evidence on the bisexuality of the normal human being which dramatically corroborates the theory of laboratory biology that a genetic basis for both sexes exists in each individual. Maleness and femaleness are a question of developmental emphasis, it would appear. If you would take a Moll Flanders early enough—though it would have to be very early indeed—you could convert her into a Beau Brummel. From the earliest cell-beginnings, maleness and femaleness go together. This is why the stately priority of the

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female element in life, so widely celebrated in the good old days of Lester Ward, is no longer acceptable.

It is rather surprising to find the author advocating, as the practical conclusion of these theories, a rigid three-child system for the family. "It would seem socially expedient to encourage each woman to have her own three children, instead of shifting the burden upon the shoulders of some other." "For each one . . . who has no children, some other woman must have six instead of three." Why shouldn't some women have six, and some have three, and some have none, especially if individual women have varying degrees of femaleness as has been maintained in the preceding 125 pages? Possibly the author means by this categorical arrangement to counteract the kind of insect-sociology which has led to the idea of a special group of females set aside exclusively for breeding. If so, the intention deserves to prosper. But this whole section, which otherwise deals most intelligently with the subject of birth control, seems to consider maternity too much as a matter of social coercion and too little as a matter of invincible impulse.

The sociologist contributes a study of the institutionalized sex-taboo. Some interesting pages are devoted to the witch, her origin and nature, and to the sex-antagonism of the Church Fathers which culminated in the witchcraft persecutions. The author agrees with Ellen Key that Christianity did not in point of fact greatly improve the position of women. Through the doctrines of Christianity "man's fear of woman found a frantic and absurd expression in her supposed devil-worship. As a result, the superstitions about witchcraft became for centuries not only a craze, but a theory held by intelligent people." At the opposite pole from the persecution of the witch was the worship of the Virgin Mother, who became the legitimate patroness of the medieval Lady and of her nineteenth century successor, the Model Woman. "The characteristics of the Model Woman must approximate those of the Holy Virgin as closely as possible. Her chastity before marriage is imperative. Her calling must be the high art of motherhood. She must be the incarnation of the maternal spirit of woman, but her purity must remain unsullied by any trace of erotic passion." The natural result of this teaching is the double standard, which brings in its train prostitution, venereal disease, and frigid wifehood. In the face of such facts, the brave words of the author deserve to be echoed: "If it be true that the only solution for the double standard whose evils show most plainly here is a new single standard, which has not yet been found, then it is high time that we find what the standard is to be, for the sake of the future."

The final section of the volume deals with the psychology of the sex-problem. The theories of Watson, Adler, Kempf, Hinkle, and others are applied to the question. Many points of the discussion hinge on principles of Freudian psychology, but the name of Freud does not appear in the text or in the bibliography. The omission seems especially striking, for instance, on page 255, where an explanation of the Oedipus complex occurs without any indication of its original source. The unwary and uninitiated reader might easily be led to attribute the Oedipus complex to an American author referred to in the text. The same conspicuous absence is noticeable in connection with other mention of distinctively Freudian ideas. To essay to deal with the psychology of sex nowadays without mentioning Freud is like trying to give "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.

Mr. Avrom Barnett's "Foundation of Feminism" is built of the same general plan as the preceding volume. The foundations are biological, psychological and physiological, and sociological. Most of the book is occupied with proving that Lester Ward's gynecocentric theory of life has collapsed. So far as I am concerned, I was convinced more thoroughly, expeditiously, and urbanely by the other book. The sarcasms of this destroyer are rather heavy and are likely to miss fire. He has read widely, but his interpretation of books and movements is not incisive or suggestive. "Whatever may be the outcome," he says of the woman movement, "we may assure ourselves of a new type of womanhood." Anything for a change, so to speak. Most of us are adventurous enough to feel that way about it, though we would like something a little less vague and characterless than this pictured ideal: "The new woman will first of all possess an intellect; she may or may not retain the so-called graces; but she will be a better mate, a more efficient mother, and a true, living, breathing, inspired, and aspiring individual."

"The Passionate Spectator" is currently supposed to be a novel about feminism, though why I cannot guess, unless it is because the heroine announces near the end of the story: "in a luminous flash, I understood Bubbles [her sister] and feminism!" Judging from the circumstances preceding this flash, her idea of feminism was a sort of compound of feminine Don Juanism and sheer hedonism. To be sure, the heroine supported herself for several years after she left her husband, but it is hard to consider that as anything heroic in this day and age. In the main she appears as a self-indulgent and self-pitying woman who is betrayed by a series of faithless men. She had the most lamentable luck with them. They betrayed her for this and that, but chiefly to go off and marry rich women. She ends by planning to deceive her husband, who is the only decent man in the story, by making him believe that the child that is coming is his. Her saintly aunt, who is idealized all through the story for her philosophy and humanity and is invariably referred to as "Sweet Aunt Caroline," actually promotes this piece of infamy and gives it her blessing. We are led to infer from the saintly aunt's confessions that she has practiced the same kind of deception on her own husband. The curtain goes down on "Sweet Aunt Caroline" saying to her niece: "The truth won't go in the regular world" and "Women in their hearts have no respect for men." These pronouncements represent the ethical heights to which our heroine has been brought through years of disappointment and conflict. In this cheap and futile cynicism her troubled soul has come to rest.

If such novels are going to be multiplied—and there will probably be more of them, for the spirit of Mary MacLean is again abroad in the land—we must learn to recognize crude egoism when we see it and not confuse it with the ardent longing within every human being for a personality and for self-expression. We must furthermore learn to recognize it as the natural over-compensation for the self-sacrificing and self-immolating ideal of womanhood which has so long and unremittingly dominated our literature. It is the tradition of the Model Woman which at last drives a rebellious victim to the point of "blowing up" in just this kind of novel.

KATHARINE ANTHONY

Those Victorians

A Survey of English Literature, 1830-1880. By Oliver Elton. London: Edward Arnold. 2 vols. (Issued in the United States by the Macmillan Company as Vols. III and IV of *A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880.*)

PROFESSOR ELTON brings to the task of surveying Victorian literature three qualifications that ordinarily flourish only in separate men: sound scholarship, wide sympathy, and originality of judgment. Sound scholarship is shown in the author's wide and thorough reading, in the all but total absence of errors of fact, misquotation, and the like, and in the justification offered for the choice of dates, 1830-1880. Catholic sympathy is shown in the capacity to recognize the merits of opposites, to respond to the achievements of both eighteenth century reason and of romantic imagination, of both minute scholarship and perilously attenuated idealism, of personalities as unlike as Carlyle and Pater, Browning and Rossetti, Dickens and Swinburne. Originality of judgment is shown everywhere, in the form of a deft sundering of confused values, the higher of which are made to stand forth of themselves rather than

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explicitly pronounced to be such. Mr. Elton plainly would avoid the old judicial criticism, and does avoid its excesses; yet there is no doubt in the reader's mind as to the author's verdict on the claims of the thronging Victorians, and that verdict is notable for freshness, independence, originality—the originality not of eccentricity but of an eager, unimpeded insight.

The method is unusual. Although Mr. Elton shows his firm command of the social, psychological, and intellectual forces of the age, and his familiarity with biography, these aspects of the work, which are well in the foreground in such typical modern surveys as Courthope's "History of English Poetry" and Hugh Walker's "Literature of the Victorian Era," are here in the background, or, more accurately, are partly assumed and partly diffused through the study of the literature itself. The author is free, therefore, to concentrate on the actual books of the period, and to give them an analysis that extends to eight hundred well-filled pages. If we miss the personal and historical explanation of why the literature was what it was, which a philosophic method would afford, we gain a full and rich discussion of the literature regarded as art.

Literature, to Mr. Elton, is first of all an art, and it follows, in his judgment (a judgment uttered with more than Arnold's *ex cathedra* dogmatism), that "our greatest critic since Coleridge" is not Matthew Arnold, but Walter Pater. The judgment may in time seem to be right, but Mr. Elton is not wise in letting his customary neutrality desert him, nor is he fair to Arnold. He has not read Arnold with that "understanding" that he extols, else he could not commit the error, against which Arnold himself warned his readers, of regarding such terms as "moral" and "conduct" in a narrow spirit that smacks of Puritanism. He misses no chance to take a fling at Arnold, who is denied the benefit of Mr. Elton's almost unfailing sympathy and insight; and his friend Clough shares his fate, receiving but two pages of comment, no more than Aytoun and Dixon, while Patmore gets six.

Save in the instance of Arnold, however, Mr. Elton's critical creed nowhere works serious havoc. A survey conceived as an impartial record of achievement gains more than it loses from the conception that criticism, in the old sense, is to be shunned. In the main the author avoids it with a wide margin. Thus he says of "The Ring and the Book": "Our ancestors would have called it a Gothic production. But we must leave Browning his own plan." We have no right, that is, to object to Browning's plan as such, the great question being whether he has carried it out well. Mr. Elton's constant effort is to see precisely what the artist attempted, and to determine his degree of success in approximating his goal. Pointing out that ideas in themselves are the affair of philosophy or history, he prefers to err, if err he must, by making too much of what is indubitably the concern of art—form. If this view leads him to imply that, since literature is first of all an art, Spenser and Milton—the supreme artists, as he says, of the English Renaissance—are also the supreme creators of literature in that movement, in which Shakespeare is conventionally the outstanding figure, it is at the same time a view that leads to passage after passage of the aptest illumination of the art of the Victorians, passages that strike one instantly by virtue of their sympathy and understanding, their acumen and pointed expression, their figurative fitness, their revelation of an unusual aesthetic susceptibility. For example, of Meredith: "Some demon drives him, in his dealings with language, to give an extra turn to the screw, and to break the screw"; of Dickens: "His vices of speech—dissolute sentiment, blank verse, and the rest—increased his vogue at the time, and carried him to the ends of the earth; but they did so on the wings of his virtues"; "The paradox of Swinburne is this, that while in all his volumes there is hardly a line which fails of its intended melody, we are from first to last alive to the fatal distinction between the blameless writing that we cannot remember and the perfect writing that we cannot forget"; of Carlyle: "With all his tricks, with certain real and too manifest vices of language, he has not only a millionaire's stock and fund of speech, but a certain fundamental and nail-hitting rightness in the use of it. The vices are those of a man; the bad pages are those of a man raging, at any rate, and not mere musical wind, like so much of Ruskin, or sheer sterility, like so much of Newman."

NORMAN FOERSTER

War and Strikes

War-Time Strikes and Their Adjustment. By Alexander M. Bing. E. P. Dutton and Company.

ALTHOUGH the title of this book might make its publication seem a little belated, it is of present interest aside from its value as an historical record. The labor situation during the war was not an island cut off from the past and the future; we must understand it in order to interpret events that are recorded daily in the newspapers. Mr. Bing is an employer and a "practical business man" of large experience; he served the Government in various capacities as a labor adjuster; and he has made an exhaustive study of the official documents dealing with his subject. His book is authoritative in every respect, and is by far the most competent, the most comprehensive, and the most just account of labor adjustment during the war period that has been issued.

Its substance is composed of a survey of the various agencies of mediation and adjustment, of their policies and their principal decisions. Informing and surrounding this substance is the interpretation which relates it to public policy. When the war began, the nation had no consistent policy with regard to industrial relations; there was no standardization of wages, hours, or methods of control on any principle whatever, and large sections of industry were scarred battle-grounds between organized labor and employers. Unionism had not been recognized and granted a place in the body politic. Upon this chaos the war imposed an enormous demand for products, and a necessity of drastic readjustment in the relation between various forms of production. The inevitable result was an increase in the economic power of the worker. There were far more jobs than men to fill them, and in consequence there arose a ruthless competitive bidding up of wages, an enormous labor turnover, congestion, discontent, and strikes. The Government, seeing this loss of productive power, was at length forced to intervene.

The reactionary employer resented the form of this intervention, believing that because the Government insisted on collective bargaining, it had a bias in favor of organized labor. The only policy he could understand was one of repression. He wanted to be left free to fight the unions on the industrial field, calling in on his side when necessary the political and military power of the Government to redress the balance of economic power which circumstances had given the worker. But more moderate men rightly saw that such a policy would have been disastrous, as well as grossly unjust. The only possibility was an industrial truce. The economic power of the unions, if uncurbed, would have led to extravagant victories. It was unwise to curb that power with conscription and machine guns. Therefore it was curbed with compromise. Labor gave up a large part of its fighting ground in exchange for certain defined concessions to be established by arbitration. And these concessions the Government enforced on reluctant employers by virtue of its own economic power as a purchaser and banker. The results, as shown by Mr. Bing, while they were marred by imperfections in detail, and were not wholly satisfactory to either side, succeeded on the whole in the chief purpose of maintaining production.

After the armistice, many people of good intentions favored the continuation of the sort of adjustment developed during the war. It would have been entirely logical, as a public policy, to use the same methods in shifting production back to peace basis with a minimum of friction and conflict. But the reactionary employers were not willing to prolong the truce,

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and they were in the saddle. The Government no longer had the power to coerce them, even if it had had the will, because it had lost its power over purchase and credit. And labor, on its side, was almost eager to accept the gage of battle, so long as unions were not to be officially recognized, on account of the restraints to which it had been subject during the war.

The civil war in industry which took place in 1919-1920 was a small indication of what would have happened if the ruling employers had been given their way during 1917-1918. Enormous interruptions of necessary production were the inevitable result of a failure to recognize organized labor and to develop just standards of remuneration and working conditions. The employers, however, failed to blame themselves for this condition, and are now taking advantage of a temporary economic superiority further to embitter and confuse the nation's industrial policy. The liberal-minded are tempted to assess this situation in terms of moral judgment. To do this, however, is to run the danger of the sort of mistake which employers themselves have made. Nobody can reach greater heights of moral self-justification than a business man who is and has been for years out to destroy organized labor. Cool surveys of the facts, such as Mr. Bing has made, are more likely to lead us to a revision of industrial policy in harmony with economic and social reality.

GEORGE SOULE

Another Henry Adams

Letters to a Niece and Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres. By Henry Adams. With a Niece's Memories, by Mabel La Farge. Houghton Mifflin Company.

THIS slender but important volume will refresh and enlighten such readers of "The Education of Henry Adams" as have had no previous means of correcting their impression that its author's sole process first and last was perplexed and desiccated cerebration. These niece's memories (to Adams all members of the younger generation who would read him were nieces) ignore the hypercareful historian, the dry, satirical novelist, the weary autobiographer, the intellectual sufferer, in favor of the "generic Uncle," the worshiper of children and the Virgin, the emotional sufferer, the brusque and melancholy kindly man, the man who, as John Hay once asked Saint-Gaudens to show in a medallion, was half angel and half porcupine. In his poem called Buddha and Brahma, composed on the Indian Ocean in 1891, Adams reflected:

> Gautama's way is best, but all are good.
> He breaks a path at once to what he seeks.
> By silence and absorption he unites
> His soul with the great soul from which it started.
> But we, who cannot fly the world, must seek
> To live two separate lives; one, in the world
> Which we must ever seem to treat as real;
> The other in ourselves, behind a veil
> Not to be raised without disturbing both.

It is that ideal life behind the veil which here appears, the life of a peculiarly private philosopher who, baffled by reason and research, resorted to wonder and worship and simple play.

The letters were written at various intervals between 1890 and 1908 from Hawaii, Samoa, Tahiti, Fiji, Australia, India, London, Syria, Paris, and Washington. They begin in the South Seas, that refuge at one time or another of every kind of spirit under the sun, whither Adams went in 1890 with John La Farge to idle awhile and paint a little—to learn whatever it was about line and form and color that New England had failed to teach him. There and everywhere his correspondence was full of the finest and gentlest fooling. Witness this account of the Ceylon cobra, sent from the Red Sea the next year:

"I have never met walks so beautiful as those about Kandy. They have, too, the advantage of being broad and graveled and cared-for, so that if a cobra happens to be taking his morning walk at the same time with you, you need not offend him by treading on his tail. This is a real advantage to me, for I do not like cobras. Some people seem to think a cobra only a snake, and speak only trivially of him; but to me, a cobra is what he was to the Brahmin and Hindus, clearly a snake-deity; and when he stands up and flattens his neck and sways about, he looks to me forty feet high, with a mission to civilize Europe and America. . . . I don't feel so about the elephant, who is a dear good fellow, and when I meet him taking his bath in a stream, and he comes up to suggest that I might give him a banana or cocoanut, I never feel as though he were a deity or his trunk a civilizer, though he is carved all over every temple in India; but the cobra is another story altogether, and has a human air of condensed venom and power such as would make the fortune of a newspaper-editor."

Four years later he was deep in French cathedrals: Amiens, Rouen, Caen, Saint-Lo, Coutances, Mont Saint Michel, Le Mans —and, of course, Chartres, "the finest thing in the world," with its Virgin whom he could less and less forget, who came eventually to represent for him the one divine remnant on earth of pity, pardon, love, strength, truth. A study will have to be made some day of Adams's ideas about woman, the only subject on which he could not be cynical. No other system or principle of life but had death in it; woman, as the very transmitter of life, was eternal verity. Toward such a study the Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres, first printed here, suggests a step:

> Help me to feel! not with my insect sense,
> With yours that felt all life alive in you;
> Infinite heart beating at your expense;
> Infinite passion breathing the breath you drew!

MARK VAN DOREN

American Chronicles

Zell: A Novel. By Henry G. Aikman. Alfred A. Knopf.
Blind Mice. By C. Kay Scott. George H. Doran Company.

THE moral history of America is being written in a series of books that have the virtue of stating all their criticism by implication. They avoid the discursiveness of the younger or Wellsian school of British novelists and let the operations of the intelligence be coincident with the creative act. Thus they forego a certain liveliness and nimbleness but gain in solidity and strength. The texture is homely and the web is full of knots. Yet one feels that the stuff will stand strain and will probably outlast a good many changes in the literary weather. The value of these books is in their material and in the author's grasp of that material. There is in them little grace or charm or distinction and the prose is often rough and gritty. Beside Joseph Hergesheimer's "Linda Condon," for instance, Mr. Aikman's "Zell" may seem very much like a pile of cobblestones beside a statue. But if all your roads are bogs, the cobblestones are indispensable. They will help communication and civilize the land, while the statue stands remote and lovely waiting for a generation not yet born.

Between Mr. Aikman's first book, "The Groper," and his second book, "Zell," there lies an extraordinarily swift development. "The Groper" was awkwardly tentative and helpless and lumbered blindly about. What distinguishes "Zell" is a sureness of knowledge and touch both strong and tender, flexible and firm. Its people are among the most soundly and vitally rendered in our recent fiction: Herman Zell, the Don Juan of the cheap hotel lobby, Agatha with her acrid, unstilled sex-vanity, Winifred who, because she experiences her mother's fate more intelligently, reaches pathos and avoids grotesqueness, Ruby, the odiously pinchbeck and pretentious, and Avery Zell himself, whose incomparably typical fate it is that he has no fate of his own at all but tries to squeeze a feeble and sterile

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satisfaction from his own undeviating will to obedience. These creatures are all admirably well done. But they have been equaled. What has not been equaled is Mr. Aikman's insight into the precise character of their relationships. Here he displays a special talent and makes his special and important contribution to our fiction.

The intricacy of human relationships is caused by the inevitable dishonesty of the emotions involved. In Detroit or Columbus or Nashville the exact emotion that should accompany a given human relationship is fixed and taken both tacitly and loudly for granted. It is supposed to change in neither character nor intensity, and the evidence of any such change is taken as a public affront to that private morality which everybody holds to be his business. It follows that, since self-sustaining souls are few, most people try to play up to public expectations even in the hidden places of their own minds and fall into inextricable emotional confusions. It is these confusions that Mr. Aikman has so expertly and refreshingly rendered. Agatha's attitude to her Herman should have been, by all rules, one of sad and noble indignation. Hence she forces herself into public actions that would normally express such an attitude. In reality and beneath her simulated wrath she aches for him on any terms, since on any terms he keeps her less naked and poverty-stricken than she can be alone. But she plays her proper and prescribed part and destroys herself. Thus, too, Avery Zell knows well enough that he married Ruby out of nervousness, cowardice, and weakness. But since love, in its rarest and most burning form, is publicly assumed to be the cause of every decent marriage, he supposes that he must love her and is constantly appalled by the quality of what he genuinely feels. Such, however, is his need of a self-approbation which shall be a reflection of public approbation that he shifts the entire emotional basis of his fate and is proud of not having shirked the real issues of life when that is what, above all things, he has so completely and muddle-headedly done. In the profoundly ironic delineation of this process in Avery's consciousness and circumstances Mr. Aikman gathers force and vision and even acquires an occasional happy compactness of speech, so that "Zell," uncommonly intelligent and fascinating from the start, has the rarer virtue of an energetic and inevitable close and leaves one with a very large sense of its author's possibilities.

"Blind Mice" is a drier and a harder book than "Zell." It grew out of sharp and acrid perceptions and has little warmth, little sympathy, little of that brooding consciousness of man's pitiful estate which forms the creative mood of the best naturalistic fiction. Without analysis or comment of any kind Mr. Scott presents through a series of very accurately heard and recorded conversations a small group of characters, two of whom, Mrs. Merwent and John Winter, he has explored with a harsh but marvelous thoroughness. Mrs. Merwent stands at the center of the book. This "moral idiot" constitutes its motive and creates its action. She is woman, she is fate, yet she is immensely individualized. Her portraiture is done with a merciless clarity. Mr. Scott is bent on tracking down all her subterfuges, her appalling falseness and self-absorption, her instinctive trickery, her brazen sentimentality, her intellectual deadness. And he succeeds so completely that her psychical image remains etched on the brain and leaves the reader with a genuine terror of those qualities in many women which have assumed such monstrous but wholly convincing proportions in herself. That terror gives, better than any critical phrase, the measure of Mr. Scott's pertinacity and power. L. L.

Books in Brief

UNDER the title of "Speculation and the Chicago Board of Trade" (Macmillan) Professor James E. Boyle of Cornell University presents the results of an intensive study of the marketing of grain. Five chapters are devoted to such subjects as fundamental economic functions of a market, Chicago as a grain market, the Chicago Board of Trade viewed as a piece of marketing machinery, and the Chicago Board of Trade and the problem of speculation. The emphasis, however, is put on the problems of future trading and speculation. The conclusion is that organized speculation is beneficial because it stabilizes prices, registers prices, furnishes a wide and continuous distributing risk, and is an enemy of monopoly. Concerning the evils attendant on speculation the writer believes that the Board of Trade has the power in itself to cure most of the evils arising from the abuse of speculation and should do so largely as a matter of self-interest. The fact is stressed that such a market has arisen as a result of development and is based on actual needs and conditions. The remedy for such evils as exist is not abolition of speculative institutions but correction and adaptation to present conditions.

ONE of the best-known names in Persian literature is that of Saadi, the poet and moralist of Shiraz, who lived in the thirteenth century of our era. An excellent volume in French has recently appeared on the life and works of this noted writer. It is from the pen of Professor Henri Massé, of Algiers, and is entitled "Essai sur le poète Saadi" (Paris: Paul Geuthner). The book gives an admirable account of the life and travels of this famous poet and dervish, who journeyed through many lands of the Orient. It deals in detail with Saadi as a thinker and man of the world, as well as a consummate literary artist in Persian verse and prose. A valuable bibliography is appended to the volume.

Drama

The Experimental Stages

BRITISH comedy of the better sort is saved from triviality by a certain amount of brain work. Is there any American comedy that does not get mired in sentiment or falseness somewhere before its end? The initial assumptions of the action in a farce by Arnold Bennett or A. A. Milne are as wildly absurd as they are in one by Avery Hopwood or Clare Kummer. But the ironic vision asserts itself and the civilized mind feels at home. Thus, when an interval of lightness and brightness is needed, the directors of our experimental stages are tempted to get their material from abroad. It is a pity, since the ironic fancy playing upon a foreign society can hardly fail to have its points dulled. But anyone who is offended by the policy of the Neighborhood Playhouse or the Theater Guild in this matter should find or produce an American comedy that is honest in outlook, however tangled in plot, and see what would happen.

"The Great Adventure," by Arnold Bennett, the piece selected by the Neighborhood Playhouse, is really very much better than the author's more pretentious dramas. No one is expected to believe that the great painter's valet was buried in Westminster Abbey in his stead. What one does believe in is the essential characteristics of the people involved. And these might have been defined and exhibited in a dozen different ways. It is true that a first-rate artist may be not only shy as a man but sincerely eager to escape that mixture of interference and selfish adulation known as fame; it is true that he may find his happiness in his work and in the company of a simple-hearted woman who does not understand it but who adores him. The artist and thinker is lonely. For imperfect sympathy he oftens pays an abnormal price. Thus it is clear that the implications of the farcical action are both serious and important; they are embodied through characters that smack of Dickens but have softer outlines and more flowing gestures. The best of these is the little cockney woman played with exactly the right note of prosaic serenity and inner warmth by Deidre Doyle. Amid the posturing and false enthusiasm and cold expertness of the others, her frank ignorance of art

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is like a balm. She gives the painter a heart, a home, and a chance to reflect and work. The scenes in her sitting-room are played with a beautiful sincerity. Those in the last act are done with real polish and brilliancy, and one leaves the play with the conviction that the Neighborhood Playhouse has set itself a new standard of significant and harmonious execution.

The execution of the Theater Guild is always of a high order. A small cast that includes Laura Hope Crewes, Dudley Digges, Erskine Sanford, and Helen Westley, made it, in the production of A. A. Milne's "Mr. Pim Passes By," of the finest and most glittering texture. The play itself is more frivolous in undertone than Arnold Bennett's, because Mr. Milne barely grazes the theme he has himself selected. The supposed reappearance on the mortal scene of Mrs. Marden's first husband suddenly drives into the open the inner realities of George Marden, J. P. He is devoted to Olivia, but he feels that he must give her up because, well, because right is right and wrong is wrong and the provisions of the law are the limits of his conscience. The report is proved false and Olivia gets a new rug and her own way in regard to both her husband's ward and her new curtains. But could she have skimmed so iridescently over the tremendous thing that had, after all, so irrevocably happened? Brightly and wittily as Mr. Milne writes he cannot persuade us of that. "What has been *is*," Schnitzler says in his quiet way. "That is the deep sense of all happenings."

Mr. Augustin Duncan and the players associated with him present "Cradle Song" (Times Square Theater) translated by John Garrett Underhill from the Spanish of Gregorio Martinez Sierra. It is a work of plaintive beauty, an idyl of the conventual life with a deep pang at its core. The white-robed nuns sway and flutter softly and subdue their demeanor to the tranquillity required of the brides of God. But the little foundling left at their gate makes the sterile motherhood of their hearts cry out and a glow of fever begins to burn at the edges of that white calm. The second part of the play in which the foundling has grown up is more unequal. The long speech of the girl's wooer strikes a false note. Its passion sounds metallic and its professions of honor are both fulsome and hard. But the action reassumes its natural rhythm, a rhythm that is idyllic rather than dramatic and moves toward a close more fitting for an elegy than for a play. The production is beautifully sensitive. Nothing, given the play's character, could be better than the groupings and movements and gestures of the nuns through which their unexpressed pathos is symbolized. Whitford Kane, in the only male part, is mellow and homely and moving; Louise Randolph, Angela MacCahill, and Mary Carrol are charming in both appearance and expression.

The Provincetown Players have the distinction, among these various organizations, of striking the only native note. They present an American tragedy by Evelyn Scott, named feebly, though with a grim enough intention, "Love." The play is notably better than its title. Its action, up to the final unhappy moment, is straight and true; its dialogue is veracious and well-molded. Its special virtue is in its method of motivation. Mrs. Scott knows that motives are never quite pure, purposes never quite single, and that the driving forces toward a given action are never all present in the conscious mind. We do not rationalize first and then act. We act first and then rationalize the partial contents of an imperfectly remembered state of consciousness. This knowledge Mrs. Scott presents adequately and even eloquently in her second act. Her ending is less wise. A shot off-stage is only a gesture of dramatic helplessness. The modern dramatist must soon face the fact that, omitting accident, no stories end and no problems are solved. They change or fade. Life in its totality alone has a beginning, a middle, an end. But Mrs. Scott will reach that perception too. She has subtlety, skill, and promise.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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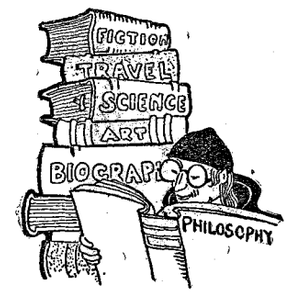

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International Relations Section

Lenin on the State of Russia

AT the opening session of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Premier Lenin presented a comprehensive survey of conditions in Russia, both military and economic. The following report of his speech was translated from the Petrograd *Pravda* of December 23.

The War with Poland

We all know, of course, how this war was forced upon us by the former landlords and capitalists under the weight and spur of the capitalist nations of western Europe. You know that in April of last year we offered the Polish Government peace on terms undoubtedly more advantageous to it than the present terms, and that only under the pressure of absolute necessity, after the failure of conciliation with Poland, we were constrained to enter war, a war which, in spite of the heavy reverse suffered by our overstrained armies before Warsaw, ended with a peace far more favorable to us than the one we had previously proffered.

The preliminary pact with Poland has been signed and discussions are now proceeding toward the signing of the final peace treaty.

The Entente policy, which looks to military intervention and violent suppression of the soviet power, is gradually losing support as we draw country after country away from the coalition of our enemies over to those standing in unmistakable friendship toward the soviets on a platform of peace. The number of the nations which adhere to the peace negotiations is growing, and it can be stated with great confidence that in the near future a final peace treaty will be signed with Poland, so that one more serious blow will thus be dealt to the unity of the capitalistic nations which are striving to wrest away our power by military means.

The Crushing of Wrangel

Our temporary setbacks in the war with Poland and our difficult situation at certain moments of the conflict were due to the fact that we had to struggle against Wrangel, who had been officially recognized by one of the imperialistic Powers and was receiving unlimited military assistance as well as material help of every other sort. To end the war as quickly as possible it was necessary to effect a rapid concentration of forces in order to strike Wrangel a decisive blow. You know what extraordinary heroism our Red Army displayed in overcoming barriers and fortifications such as even the military experts and authorities considered impregnable. This is one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Red Army, on which is written the story of its decisive bravery and the remarkable speed of its victory over Wrangel.

Now that we are sure the capitalist masters cannot interrupt our work as easily as before, we may resume with greater security the internal reconstruction which is so near and indispensable to us and which has for so long demanded our attention. However, we must remain on the alert; we must not take it for granted that we are now assured against war. The capitalist Powers and the remnants of Wrangel's army are not yet destroyed, and other White Russian organizations still continue their labors to reconstruct these or other military units and hurl them upon Soviet Russia at an opportune moment.

We must, therefore, preserve our military preparedness at all costs; we must increase the fighting capacity of the Red Army and maintain it in all readiness.

Russia and Her Neighbors

All the neighboring Powers had realized our desire for peace, and now after three years they ought to be convinced that, although we have shown the most steadfast peaceful disposition, we are at the same time prepared in a military way and any attempt to drag us into war will only lead to an aggravation of the terms they will receive after the war as compared with what they could have obtained without war.

This is not merely a threat. It has been demonstrated already in the case of several countries; it is an advantage which we will not relinquish and which will be forgotten neither by our neighbors nor by any of those participating in the policy against Russia.

Thanks to these circumstances, our relations with bordering states become better and better. With a whole row of countries on the western boundary of Russia we have already concluded a definite peace, recognizing their independence and sovereignty in accordance with the principles of our policy. With regard to the Government of Latvia, I must say that at one time relations seemed to be taking a turn for the worse, approaching even the possibility of a termination of diplomatic intercourse, but at the last moment it became apparent that the former Latvian policy had been changed and a great many misunderstandings were brushed aside. There is now a real hope that in the near future we shall have close economic relations with Latvia.

Success of Russia's Policy in the East

During the past year our policy in the East has achieved great success.

We greet the organization and consolidation of the Bokhara and Azerbaijan Soviet Republics.

We also welcome the coming ratification of the treaty with Persia, whose friendly regard is already assured because of the deep-rooted interests uniting the workmen of Soviet Russia with all people who suffer under the oppression of imperialism.

We must also mark the fact that we are ever more and more certain of friendly relations with Afghanistan and likewise more so with Turkey.

You can therefore see that the fundamentals of our policy are correct and the amelioration of our international position rests on a sound foundation.

Negotiations with England

With reference to the negotiations with England, I have to state that these discussions are going on at the present time and that we are on the eve of signing a trade agreement.

Unfortunately these negotiations have been somewhat protracted, not through any fault of ours. As far back as last July, at the height of the Soviet army's success, the English Government officially submitted to us the text of an agreement assuring the possibility of a trade arrangement. At that time we responded with our complete approval, but since then a struggle between different factions in the English Government and British Empire has retarded the transactions.

We are ready to sign the trade agreement, and if it has not yet been done the blame falls solely on that faction in English government circles which, despite the will of the majority not only of the workmen but also of the bourgeoisie, desires to break up the commercial agreement and once more get a chance to repeat the attack on Soviet Russia. Should such a policy continue much longer, it will further aggravate the financial condition of England; the more it delays the half agreement which is now necessary between bourgeois England and the Soviet Republic, the nearer will the English bourgeoisie come to the point where it will be forced to accept not a limited arrangement but a full one.

Concessions

Among the most important laws adopted by the Soviet Government during the current year is one which is closely connected with the trade agreement with England—the statute of November 23, covering concessions. The text of this law,

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as well as supplementary data, has been widely published. Steps were also taken to get this decree into western European countries as soon as possible.

We trust that our economic policy will be successful from the practical standpoint. We do not at all conceal the dangers connected with such a policy on the part of the Federated Soviet Republic, in a country extremely weak and backward, so long as this Soviet Republic remains a lonely borderland of a capitalistic world. I must quote here a remarkably enlightening statement by a certain nonpartisan peasant of the Arzamas district at a meeting of the soviets of the Nizhni-Novgorod province on the subject of concessions:

"Comrades, we send you to the All-Russian Congress, and we say to you that we peasants are willing to hunger three more years and freeze and submit to contributions—only do not sell out our mother Russia for a concession!"

I am infinitely glad of a frame of mind such as this, which has spread far and wide. For us it is highly important that throughout the toiling masses, and not alone among the workers and peasants, there has developed a degree of political and economic experience which enables and makes them value freedom from capitalism more than anything else, which makes them scrutinize with the utmost keenness and suspicion any step carrying with it a new threat of a return to capitalism. Assuredly we shall listen attentively to such expressions, and we must add that there is no chance of selling Russia to the capitalists. The business in hand is concessions and each agreement for a concession is limited by a definite term, a definite arrangement, and definite guaranties, which have been very closely considered and which will be more than once discussed and examined by the delegates at the present convention and at subsequent meetings. This temporary arrangement has nothing to do with selling Russia, but it is the recognized economic attraction for capitalists, so that a few economic allowances to them will give us the opportunity of obtaining sooner the machines and locomotives without which we cannot bring about a complete and rapid reconstruction of our internal economy.

We have no right to neglect anything that may help to improve the condition of the workers and peasants.

Economic Restoration

We have now weaned a goodly number of powerful empires from making war upon us, but for how long we cannot be certain. We must expect that at the least opening these imperialist vultures will attack us again. We have to be prepared for that. On this account we must build up our economic life; we must stand solidly on our own feet. It will be impossible to rebuild it quickly without the best machinery from the capitalist countries.

It is necessary that the workers and peasants should be in the same mood as the nonpartisan Arzamas peasant, who declared that he was not afraid of privation. In concessions he sees the possibility of new attempts by the bourgeoisie to restore the old capitalism. This is wonderful; this gives us a guaranty that the watch and ward over our interests will not be the business of the soviet organs alone, but also of each workman and peasant.

From War to Construction

The present political moment is characterized by the fact that we are living through a transitional, breaking-off period when from war we go over to economic building. This should remind us of the general political problems of the soviet power and the peculiarities of this change.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was successful because it had the power to enforce and compel. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not afraid of compulsion, because the working class has the right to resort to compulsion, since it advances in this way the interests of the toilers and the exploited.

The Kolchak and Denikin experiments convinced the peasant that no middle policy is practicable, that the policy of the soviets, a policy of straightforwardness, is correct, that the iron leadership of the proletariat is the only guide, the only leadership which does guard the peasants from exploitation and oppression. And only because of the fact that we convinced the peasants, only because our policy is rooted in a firm, unhesitating conviction of its justice, did we obtain such a gigantic success. Now we must bear in mind that on moving over to the labor front we face the same problems as before but in new surroundings and on a larger scale.

While we were at war with the White Guards, we witnessed in the peasant and working masses a height of enthusiasm and energy which did not and could not exist in other countries. This was the reason why in the long run we conquered a very powerful enemy. Here is justified one of the profoundest principles of Marxism: The wider the swing and the broader the sweep of historical actions, the greater will be the number of people taking part; and the deeper the reactions we want to produce, the higher will be the level to which we must raise our interest and understanding.

In order to carry conviction in this necessity, we must have millions and tens of millions of workers.

New Economic Problems

At the present time there appear new economic problems—the problem of creating a unified economic plan, a task for which it will be necessary to secure the cooperation of literally all the members of the trades unions for the purpose of achieving an undertaking which was alien to them under capitalism.

Let us now ask, Does there exist here the condition for a swift, indubitable victory, a condition such as arose during the war? Are the members of the trades unions and most of the nonpartisan elements convinced of the necessity of our new methods, of our great tasks of economic construction? Are they as deeply convinced of that as they were convinced of the necessity of giving everything for war, of sacrificing everything for a victory on the military front?

The answer is undoubtedly, No! They are not sufficiently convinced of that. It is necessary to see to it that the peasant masses and the members of the trades unions understand that Russia belongs to us, that we workers and peasants by our activities, by our labor discipline, we alone are able to transform the old conditions into a great economic plan. Outside of that there is no salvation. We must see to it that literally all the members of the trades unions are interested in production and that they realize that by increasing productivity Soviet Russia will be able to score a victory on the economic front. It is then that Soviet Russia will put an end to the terrible conditions, to the lack of food and fuel which she is now experiencing. If we do not understand this, we shall perish.

Truthful Propaganda

Our fundamental task is to impress the millions of workers with the necessity of victory on the economic front.

This is the task of the Central Bureau of Economic Propaganda. This is the task of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trades Unions, of all party workers, of the entire apparatus of the soviet power. This is also the task of the entire propaganda which we have hitherto conducted, which gave us our first successes, for our propaganda in the whole world tells the workers and peasants the truth. All other propaganda the world over tells lies.

We must now transfer our propaganda to a subject which is far more difficult, which relates to our daily work. We must convince the workers and peasants that without a combination of forces, without new forms of political union, without new forms related to this compulsion we shall not issue from the abyss of economic collapse. But we have already begun to come out of it.

Agricultural Production

We were and have remained a country of small peasant holdings, and the transition to communism is immeasurably more

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difficult for us under these circumstances than under any other. That this transition may be effected, we need participation on the part of the peasants ten times more thorough than obtains at present. The fundamental task which we are now facing is to convince the peasant masses of the necessity of state duty in the interest of all the toilers of Soviet Russia; also to unite the communist laborers and utilize their experience.

All our means of propaganda, all our political resources, all our education, all our party resources, all our means and energies, all these we must muster for the purpose of reaching the nonpartisan peasant, and only then we shall have a real foundation for our law relating to the development of agricultural production. It is only when we shall have secured the assistance of the majority of the peasants, only then shall we be able to raise the standard of agriculture and agricultural interests. This cannot be done without mobilizing all energies to assist the nonpartisan peasant. We recognize ourselves to be indebted to the peasant. We took his bread on credit for paper money. We must pay our debt, and we shall do so by restoring our industries. But in order to restore we need a surplus of agricultural production. This is an indispensable condition for the restoration of our economic life.

Industrial Construction

Let me pass now to the manner in which our industrial construction is shaping itself. Within a few days each commissar will present to you a mass of factual material. This material overwhelms one with its abundance, and one must be able to choose from it what is most essential for our economic plan. One of these reports is before you; it relates to the status of our provisioning. You can see from it that the stores of grain in 1915 amounted to 320 million poods, that in 1918, after the imperialistic war and at the beginning of the civil war, the amount of grain had dropped to 50 million poods. In 1919, when we had somehow managed to organize our provisioning agencies, that amount began to grow and reached 100 million poods, and in 1920 it reached 200 million poods.

Thus you see that beginning with 1918 the stores of grain doubled. But this amount is too small; we must raise it to about 300 million poods. Without such a quantity we cannot restore industry or transportation. Without it we cannot approach the great task of electrifying Russia. This amount will be used to feed the workers employed in the industries and upon it we must also draw to assist the peasants suffering from bad crops. This store will eventually also be used for bonuses. . . .

It is not enough to tell the workers and peasants, "Improve your labor discipline!" We must reward those who after measureless suffering continue to show heroism on the labor front. We must reward the workers with better conditions of life.

The fuel problem is no less important than the provisioning situation. From Comrade Rykov's theses you will gather that an improvement has been made both in firewood and in naphtha. Owing to the enthusiasm of the workmen of the Azerbaijan Republic, naphtha begins to come to us in larger and larger quantities. In the Donetz Basin, due to the special measures taken by the Donetz Basin Plenipotentiary Commission, the mining and delivery of coal according to our estimates should increase from 25 million poods per month to 50 million per month. The commission, having established contact with the local workers, must and will get a rise in production to the necessary amount.

In the department of fuel production we have another great success to point to, namely, the application of hydraulic methods to the production of peat, which we will put into practice in the near future. We possess immense tracts of peat, but up to the present we have not been able to utilize them because underground work is terribly hard. Under the capitalist regime hunger drove men to the work, but in a socialist country that is unthinkable. We must seek out every way of getting at this underground wealth by machinery. The production of peat by hydraulic methods also obviates the necessity of employing skilled workers, for with the new method untrained laborers can be employed. Our economic success will be measured by the success of the chief peat commission, and without a victory over the fuel famine we cannot be victorious on the economic front.

As regards transportation we have on hand a plan worked out over a period of several years. Here we have actual results already. In the resolutions of Comrades Yemshakov and Trotzky there are indications that the six-year term for which Order No. 1042 was designed has been reduced to three and a half years in view of the fact that the work is ahead of schedule. That is the way we must work in other economic branches also. It is necessary to carry out the economic plan according to a definite program, and the progress of its execution must be registered and encouraged. The masses must not only know but also feel that the shortening of the period of hunger, cold, misery wholly depends upon the carrying out of our economic plans. All the programs of individual branches of production must be strictly coordinated and bound together. We need a unified economic plan. In this connection we face the problem of unifying the economic commissariats and creating an economic center. We have already proposed the necessary bill. . . .

On the order of the day of our congress there is also the very important problem of improving the soviet apparatus. We must strive to achieve this improvement on the basis of the practical experience of recent years.

I shall dwell on the last question which is on the order of the day, namely, electrification. The report on this problem, upon which the prosperity of proletarian Russia depends, will serve as a prologue to a series of similar special reports which must henceforth find a place in our congresses.

The Beginning of an Epoch of Happiness

I believe that this moment is an important turning-point. Upon the platform of our all-Russian congresses there will appear not only statesmen and administrators, but also engineers and agronomists. It is the beginning of the happy epoch when politicians will speak more rarely and the attention of our congresses and conferences will be fixed upon economic construction, the enrichment of Soviet Russia by new creative experience. This turning-point must affect our organizations, our newspapers, our organs of propaganda. Politics we have learned. There we cannot go astray. Creative economic construction, the increase of our productivity, must become our policy now. Engineers and agronomists must take their place in our ranks. We must learn from them, check up their work, and move onward.

From the report of the State Commission for Electrification, created by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on February 27, you will see what a tremendous work has been done in that field. Upward of one hundred of the best specialists in the All-Russian Soviet of Public Economy have devoted themselves to that work and as a result we have a printed volume of investigations, which will be distributed among you. This book in my judgment must become the second program of our party, for without electrification we cannot begin real construction. The restoration of agriculture, industry, transportation, and the other branches of our economic life will be possible only if we gradually carry out this program of electrification.

We have achieved victory on the military fronts because the consciousness of danger increased our forces tenfold. Now, in order to conquer capitalism definitely, we must grow so strong economically that a restoration of the capitalist regime will become unthinkable.

Communism is soviet power plus electrification of the whole country. Only when the country is electrified and when agriculture, industry, and transportation are on a sound technical foundation, shall we be able to achieve final victory.

The electrification plan is designed, both materially and financially, for a period of not less than ten years. The plan

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gives an estimate of the amount of cement and brick necessary for the work of electrification. It provides for an expenditure of 1.2 billions of gold rubles, which, of course, exceeds our gold reserve. The proportion of our provisions which we might utilize is also small. So we must pay for the electrification by concessions. Part of the expenses we might also cover by exporting timber. It is a problem of the greatest economic importance and we must call the attention of the broad masses of the workers to it. These problems must be debated in our conferences and conventions everywhere.

I attended the solemn opening of an electric station in a village situated in the Volokolamsk District. One of the peasants who spoke at the celebration said: "We peasants have always lived in the darkness, but now a preternatural light shines upon us." Of course, it is not this light that is preternatural, but the fact that peasants lived in darkness and under oppression. Each factory, each electric station must become a center of enlightenment. And if Russia is covered by a whole network of electric stations and power machines, our communistic economic construction will become the example for future socialist states in Europe and Asia.

The Development of Soviet Power

THE following sections of the report of Zinoviev at the Eighth Congress of Soviets are taken from *Pravda* for December 29:

We can distinguish three periods in the history of the soviet power. The first may be called the "Smolny" period for short. I mean the time when the government sat in the "Smolny" at Petrograd.

In those days the soviets were organs of immediate uprising for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They were agencies for arming the people and seizing the power. They were military organizations. Their task was narrowly military, that is, to overthrow capitalism, the white guards, and take the power into our hands. During that period a well-planned All-Russian centralization was out of the question.

The second period of the life of Soviet Russia we are closing at this convention. It comes to an end with the complete destruction of Wrangel. It has been a time during which the soviets have become agencies for the mobilization of the city and the village for war in its most varied forms. This period has been too long and has resulted in great disasters for us. Our local organizations were undermanned and we had to give up the most elementary requirements of political democracy. During that time an excessive centralization, sometimes simplified, arose among us. We understood that in order to conduct the war successfully, we needed a general staff unifying all our work. This necessity made us soft as wax. We yielded too easily to centralistic and ultra-centralistic demands. We could not and we did not wish to offer resistance because over our heads hung the Damocles sword of war, and we believed that it was better to overdo centralization than to jeopardize the success of our military efforts.

The third period, into which we are now finally passing, is, properly speaking, the one of which we dreamed on the eve of the October Revolution, when millions of peasants went into battle with the thought that we would drive out the bourgeoisie and apply ourselves to economic construction. Now, after three years of war, we begin what the masses thought to begin immediately upon the October Revolution; and our chances of success are great. Now the third period in the history of Soviet Russia starts and many things must change. The role of the soviets must change. They are no longer agencies of uprising, as they were at the beginning. They are no longer agencies for mobilization. No, the soviets must now become organs for mobilizing the city and village for economic construction. That is the immediate aim of our revolution, for all revolutions rotate around the questions of bread, housing, and a better life for the toiling masses. . . .

We never assumed any obligation to cure our country of all its diseases in three years. Nevertheless, our work will enter into history as the greatest historical achievement that the world has ever witnessed. In spite of the inexpressibly adverse conditions we have created a harmonious apparatus covering a country whose territory occupies one-sixth of the globe. We have formed this system in its fundamental outlines. We have elaborated a plan of work. We have reached the point where our laws are executed, and the soviets have penetrated the very life of the people and have become an everyday reality. . . .

During the three years of soviet work 1,279 provincial and district conventions have been held with a membership of 124,230 delegates. These data are, of course, incomplete. The membership of the provincial executive committee in typical provinces was made up of 87.5 per cent communists and 12.5 per cent non-partisans during the first half of 1920. For the second half of 1920 we have data on 12 provinces. According to these data the percentage of communists is now 99 per cent. . . . In Moscow there are 231,140 soviet employees. In Petrograd the soviets employ 175,969 persons.

The rest of the speech is devoted to a description of the growth of bureaucracy in the soviets and the measures to be taken to combat it. Among other examples of bureaucratic red tape Zinoviev cites the following case: "The first state factory, *Goaznak*, in Moscow, needed ten black knives. Although these knives were in Moscow itself and were required by a factory doing essential work for the country, it took four official reports in the course of two months and four days to get them."

Russian Industry

THE more important sections of the official outline of the report submitted by the chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Rykov, to the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, are contained in the following translation, taken from the text published in *Pravda* for December 23:

In spite of continuous civil war and blockade the soviet power, through the efforts of the organized working class, has not only succeeded in saving our national economic life from destruction, liquidating private property, and organizing the economic rear which insured the victory of the Red Army, but also in creating an impetus to new achievements, both in organization and in technique. . . .

During the present year a genuine improvement has taken place in several fundamental branches of our national life. Thus, for the first third of the harvest year of 1919-1920, that is, August, September, and October, 57,576,000 poods* of grain and grain fodder were stored. For the same three months of 1920-1921 the grain stores amounted to 140,652,000 poods, that is, an increase of 24 per cent. The improvement in the fuel situation may be seen from these data: Calculated in terms of wood, the aggregate consumption of fuel in 1919 was 7,155,000 cubic sazhens†; during the first ten months the total, expressed in the same terms, was 11,083,000 cubic sazhens. The consumption of fuel during these ten months is therefore 150 per cent higher than the consumption of the entire preceding year. The situation is even clearer when you consider the production of fuel. Thus the production of coal in 1919 amounted to 36,881,000 poods, while for the ten months of 1920 it amounted to 341,232,000 poods. The production of peat in 1919 amounted to 671,000,000 poods, in 1920 to 823,000,000 poods. Firewood aggregated 4,200,000 cubic sazhens in 1919 and 9,400,000 cubic

* One pood is a little more than 36 pounds.
† One sazhen equals 7 feet.

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sazhens during the ten months of 1920. A still greater difference obtains in liquid fuel. In 1919 the consumption of liquid fuel amounted to 50,000,000 poods, while during the ten months of 1920 it amounted to 116,900,000 poods, exclusive of light naphtha products and machine oils.

The improvement of transportation may be seen from the increase in industrial transportation. In 1919 there were 11,130 freight cars dispatched per month on long through hauls and 4,053 on short local hauls. The corresponding figures for 1920 are 19,572 and 5,354 respectively per month. The increase thus amounted to 75 per cent.

In joining the Soviet Republic the border provinces enabled us to provide the cotton mills with raw material to the amount of 350,000 poods of cotton on January 1, 1919, and 1,221,000 poods on November 1. In connection with this we increased the number of operating mills. Thus, in October 29 spinning mills with 576,577 spindles were in operation instead of 17 mills with 290,582 spindles in June. The production for October amounted to 11,500,000 arshins* of cloth as compared with 4,000,000 arshins for July. The woolen mills have also received more raw material and in October their output amounted to 2,200,000 arshins as against 1,000,000 arshins for July.

The fact that the south became soviet territory had even a more marked effect upon the tobacco, soap, dairy, and other branches of industry. In April the tobacco factories of Moscow had raw material for two months, while the Petrograd factories had only enough material to last a few days. On October 1 the Moscow factories had 93,000 poods of raw material, while the Petrograd factories had 200,000 poods, enough to last ten months.

Since the middle of the present year several blast furnaces have begun to work. Last year not one of them was in operation. On December 1, 19 such furnaces were in operation in the Ural, Donetz, and Central Russian regions and their number is constantly increasing, particularly in the Urals, where early in December 10 blast furnaces, 12 Martens furnaces, and 25 rolling mills were in operation. At the same time the situation of the heavy metals industry remains threatening, and according to the program of 1921 it is proposed to produce only 30,000,000 poods of cast iron (that is approximately half of the minimum amount needed) and 45,000,000 poods of iron.

The following data will characterize the growth of our production and the proposed activities in 1921:

Commodity	Production in 1920	Proposed Production in 1921
Wood and timber	10,500,000 cu. sazhens.	19,000,000 cu. sazhens.
Coal	431,744,000 poods	718,000,000 poods.
Naphtha	71,000,000 poods	298,745,000 poods.
Salt	40,000,000 poods	58,100,000 poods.
Slate	2,160,000 poods	12,215,000 poods.
Gold	95 poods	276 poods.
Platinum	23 poods	68 poods.
Glass	26,781 cases	149,030 cases.
Matches	609,196 cases	1,228,300 cases.
Sugar, granulated	7,500,000 poods	25,514,000 poods.
Soap	817,000 poods	1,080,000 poods.
Belting, rubber	347,000 arshins	1,320,000 arshins.
Tobacco	9,355,000 units	21,400,000 units.
Sulphuric Acid	676,000 poods	2,743,000 poods.
Lamps	645,000	1,830,500.
Electric Energy	180,000,000 kilowatts	244,700,000 kilowatts.
Paper	1,855,000 poods	3,000,000 poods.
Cotton Goods	135,000,000 arshins	780,000,000 arshins.

Nevertheless, this increased program of production will only slightly satisfy the needs of the population and of the industries.

This rise of our industries finds the Republic at a moment of enormous reduction, and in some cases of almost total lack, of materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured, which were inherited by the soviet power from the bourgeois regime. Thus, in 1918 there were up to 1,500,000,000 arshins of manufactured goods in the factories and depots of the Republic. At present we have a reserve of only some 40,000,000 arshins. As for metal, on January 1, 1921, we shall have 9,000,000 poods instead of 44,000,000. We must take this fact into consideration in planning to meet the needs of production and consumption.

Our immediate task is to concentrate our attention on our heavy metals industry and on increasing the reserves of all sorts of raw materials without abating, however, our efforts along the line of improving our provisioning, fuel, and transportation situation. In this connection the development of our industries in the Donetz Basin and in the Urals, those rich sources of coal and metal, assumes a special importance.

The rational and energetic utilization of the resources of the Donetz Basin and the concentration of our forces upon the restoration of its industries are being pushed to the fore by the present moment. The rebirth of the coal industry, which the civil war had destroyed, and the resumption of operations by the large metallurgical mills of the south must be the turning-point in our future economic development. At the same time we must increase the production and shipment of liquid fuel. The sharp decrease in the output of naphtha at Baku in 1920 and the difficulties of shipping it on the Volga, as well as the constant threat to Baku on the part of the predatory Entente, make the increase of productivity at Baku imperative. It also renders urgent the necessity of developing new naphtha fields, notably first of all in the Emba region, and the transmission of naphtha by pipe lines. The available reserves of naphtha at Baku (about 200,000,000 poods) and the proposed production of 1921 there (170,000,000 poods) will satisfy the needs of industry for liquid fuel in 1921, that is, provided we shall be in a position to transport it. The problem of shipping naphtha will become especially acute in 1923, when the old reserves will be exhausted, while no decisive measures will be taken to raise the productivity of Baku and the other naphtha regions and to increase the carrying capacity of our railroad and water transportation.

The necessity of increasing and developing the production and storage of raw materials, the reserves and sources of which have considerably decreased, is inseparably bound up with the development and improvement of our economic activities in agriculture, especially in the regions which are sources of raw materials. In this connection we must first of all develop the cotton industry of Turkestan and the flax industry in the northern and northwestern parts of Russia.

The strengthening of the international position of Soviet Russia and the pending possibilities of a more intense economic intercourse with foreign countries necessitate the formation of reserves of commodities for foreign exchange. This in turn requires a series of measures aiming at the development of our agriculture, cattle raising, and metallurgy, so that they may not only satisfy the needs of our own industries, but may also yield a surplus for export.

This same circumstance determines the possibility of a policy of concessions which, attracting technical energies and funds from other countries for the development of the productive resources of Soviet Russia, will enable us to initiate the exploitation of the vast regions of northern and eastern Russia and set up on the territory of Russia a number of industries where the application of the western European and American technique is necessary. The negative aspect of the penetration of capitalistic enterprises into the Republic will be paralyzed, or is paralyzed, by the further growth of class-consciousness and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working class, as well as by the consistent development and strengthening of socialist economy.

The foregoing paragraphs comprise about half of Rykov's outline. The concluding sections are devoted to a discussion of labor technique, plans for economic development, and problems of industrial organization under the communist system of production.

* One arshin is about 28 inches.

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Rail and Water Transportation in Russia

THE report on Russia's transportation system, delivered by Yemashamov, Commissar for Transportation, was reported in *Pravda* for December 28 as follows:

We may point to an indubitable improvement in transportation work, an improvement both qualitative and quantitative. In the first place, the year 1920 gave us an important increase in our railway net. Whereas toward the beginning of the year the aggregate mileage amounted to 33,000 versts, toward the end of the year it totaled 60,000 versts. At the beginning of the year our railroad system carried 6,000 freight cars per 25 hours. At present we are handling 12,000 such cars. The number of engines has also increased greatly. We now have 17,700 engines and 41,900 cars. Thus, in spite of the unfavorable conditions under which our transportation repair is going on, we can point to a marked improvement in the state of our road stock.

The conditions under which our repair shops operate are known to you all. The shops have been largely destroyed. Many of them have no window panes in spite of the winter season. The equipment of the shops which we have recently taken over is destroyed. The most important parts of the machinery are lost or have been ruined by the enemy. Nevertheless, we must say that we are acquitting ourselves pretty well of the tasks outlined for us in Order No. 1042. At the beginning of the year we had 3,833 effective engines. Now we have 7,461. . . .

The brilliant execution of Order No. 1042 has enabled us to advance the schedule, and if the spare-part factories permit we shall be in a position to repair all our engines, not within four and a half years, as was planned, but within three and a half or even three years. In spite of the fact that the repairing of cars is going on as efficiently as the repairing of engines the number of "sick" cars is growing and amounts to 23 per cent.

An indispensable requirement for the normal functioning of transportation is efficient telegraphic communication. At present 32,500 of the available 38,000 telephones of the Republic need radical repair. Out of the existing 10,000 telegraphic instruments 8,000 demand substantial repair. The electric signal system is even in a more deplorable state. It needs repair in its entirety. Taking into consideration our repair facilities, our materials and labor resources, we have worked out a plan for restoring our telegraph system in two years dated from January 1, 1920.

It is further necessary to call attention to the critical state of our railway trackage. From the outbreak of the war the renewal of worn ties and rails was discontinued in many places. At present the tracks are in a condition conducive to disasters. A project for their repair is being worked out at present and will require a period of five years. In a whole series of sections it is necessary to clean the road. We need 120,000 men for that purpose. Of course this number will vary depending upon the amount of snow, etc.

The railway fuel situation cannot be considered satisfactory at present. Wood is still the predominant material. As for coal, the Donetz mining region is not in a position to meet all the needs of the railroads.

With regard to water transportation, the amount of freight carried has increased considerably in comparison with 1919. This year we have transported 582 million poods by water, whereas last year we carried only 340 million poods. The problem of repairing the craft cannot be discussed here in default of statistical data. If we get enough materials and metal, there is no doubt that here, too, the repair program will be carried out. This program provides for a tonnage in 1921 not below that of 1920.

In conclusion it is necessary to say that the administrative apparatus of our transportation is definitely formed, so that the administrative agencies exist not only on paper, but also in reality. The entire system is sufficiently strong, and the task of those at the head of transportation is to perfect it.

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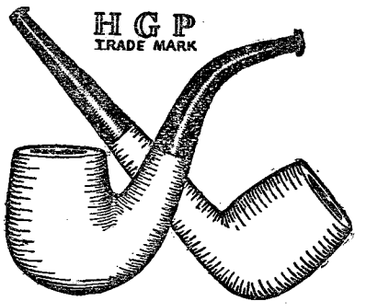

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The "BRASS CHECK WEEKLY!"

Some time ago we threatened to start a publication with the above name, to keep up with the increasing dishonesties of the capitalist press. We meant the suggestion playfully, but it would seem that the capitalist press is going to drive us to it!

Last November the author of "The Brass Check" was the Socialist candidate for Congress in the 10th California District. During the campaign not a single newspaper in Los Angeles quoted a word from the campaign speeches of this candidate. A few days before election the Los Angeles "Times" published a big display article, with heading all the way across the page: "HERE ARE ALL THE CANDIDATES." The list was complete—save for one name, that of the author of "The Brass Check." On the day after election, all five Los Angeles newspapers printed on the front page a "box" giving the returns for all the principal offices. The list began with the vote for United States Senator. It then gave the vote for the 9th District. Then, it skipped entirely the vote for the 10th District, which is three-fourths of the city of Los Angeles, and went on to give the vote for the minor offices. On the second day after election, the newspapers repeated this incredible performance, and the boycotted candidate sent telegrams to the Socialist papers of the country, stating how the returns were being suppressed.

There is published in New York city an organ of the Old Style Tory virtues called the "Weekly Review." In this paper an ex-Socialist, W. J. Ghent, published an article charging that the author of "The Brass Check" had been inaccurate. Ghent had found one sentence of comment on the returns in one newspaper the day after election, and two sentences the second day after election. He furthermore showed that the Los Angeles "Times" had published the complete returns on November 6, four days after election, and the official revised returns on November 20. To this the author of "The Brass Check" replied that all his telegrams had been sent on November 3 and 4, so that what the "Times" had published on November 6 and 20 did not touch the question of his veracity. As to the earlier matters, Ghent had made his case by suppressing all mention of the "boxes" containing the returns, with the vote in the 10th District omitted.

The "Weekly Review" delayed for two months to publish this explanation—in the meantime sending it to Ghent, so that he might prepare an answer. This answer of Ghent was a charge that the author of "The Brass Check" had lied; that he had sent a telegram to the New York "Call" on November 6, subsequent to the publication of the complete returns in the Los Angeles "Times." By accident the author found out about this new charge before it was published in the "Weekly Review," and he obtained from the telegraph companies certified evidence that he had sent no telegrams to the New York "Call" except on November 3 and 4; he had sent none on November 6. The telegram referred to by Ghent had been sent by another party, and sent on November 5, not November 6—that is, it had been sent *prior to* the publication of the returns by the Los Angeles "Times" on November 6!

This documentary evidence was submitted to the editor of the "Weekly Review," as a test of the Old Style Tory virtues. Having the evidence before him that his charges were false, here is what the editor of the "Weekly Review" did: he published the charges of Ghent, and returned the evidence of Upton Sinclair unpublished and unmentioned; he wrote a letter, admitting that he had the evidence before him, at the time he sent the charges to press; but he returned the evidence for lack of space, and he published the false charges because he already had them in type! The charges are now being reprinted in capitalist papers from Philadelphia to Sacramento, and were last heard from in the "Standard," organ of the Ethical Culture Societies!

Meantime, "The Brass Check" is reported as the book most in demand in one public library after another. A friend informs us that in Los Angeles there are forty reservations for it! Scores of college boys are writing us about it, one declaring that he heard the book discussed in three different class-rooms in one day! The book has reached the Governor-General of the Philippines, who writes enthusiastically about it. Also it has reached Japan, whence come three letters in one month, asking to translate it. The Economy Book Shop of Chicago telegraphs for 1,400 copies, having had 750 the month previous—and this a year after publication!

The London "Nation" gave "The Brass Check" a two-page review a year ago. Now, our shipments of 6,500 copies having reached London, the "Nation" of January 29 gives another page. We quote one paragraph, so that you may see how the Wild West looks from a London study!

"If you wish to read a lively book of adventure—really desperate big-game hunting, in a country apparently full of man-eaters that stalk the hunter invisibly and generally get him, and rogue tuskers that wait securely in ambush to flatten out innocent wayfarers who trespass in tabooed groves—read the 'Brass Check.' It is by Upton Sinclair (Hendersons, 3s. 6d.), an author who has written about jungles before, I am told, though I have never read him. One gathers from Mr. Sinclair that Sven Hedin, Shackleton, Doughty, and other pioneers in lands where you find rocks but no ruth, had simple tasks compared to that of an American newspaper reporter who tries to tell what he knows; for the sub-title of this book is 'A Study of American Journalism.' It appears from it that there is work still for stout-hearted pioneers in New York which will make Buffalo Bill's excitements in the Wild West seem but table tennis. What are grizzly bears to High Finance? What the Sioux warrior Rain-in-the-Face to Mr. Hearst? Young men who are looking for an exciting life but are deploring the softness of a modern existence should read Upton Sinclair and admire the opportunity he shows could be theirs."

Prices of "The Brass Check" and other books published by Upton Sinclair are: Single copy, paper 60c postpaid; three copies $1.50; ten copies $4.50. Single copy, cloth, $1.20 postpaid; three copies $3.00; ten copies $9.00.

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